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The journey of the soul: the role of music in the Ludus super Anticlaudianum of Adam de la Bassee

The Journey of the Soul

The Role of Music in the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée

Vol. I

Jennifer A. Barnard

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts. Department of Music, September 2008.

95,000 words

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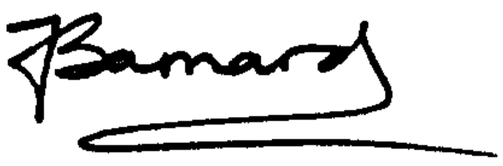
The *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* (*c.* 1280) of Adam de la Bassée is a metrical and rhymed re-working of Alan of Lille's poem, the *Anticlaudianus*, written a century earlier. Centred on an allegorical narrative representing the journey of the soul towards God, the *Ludus* explores a number of theological themes regarding the nature of good and evil, sin and forgiveness, and the necessity of salvation. Although based on the *Anticlaudianus*, Adam modifies the work in terms of style and content, reshaping Alan's scientific and philosophical questions into issues of morality and emphasising the Christological elements of its allegory. Within Adam's narrative, music plays an important role, ranging from the birdsong heard in Nature's paradise and the celestial music of the spheres, to the personification of Music as she presents her gifts to the Perfect Man. Reinforcing the significance of music to his work, Adam inserts into his narrative thirty-eight musical pieces, twenty of which are *contrafacta*, modelled on pre-existing hymns, sequences, a responsory, trouvère songs, dances, and a polyphonic motet. Adam's musical insertions form an integral part of the *Ludus*, fulfilling a variety of functions according to their form, genre and original context. In the manner of an academic 'gloss', the musical items amplify and explicate the central allegory of the *Ludus*, suggesting additional interpretations and revealing further subtexts. Weaving together elements old and new, sacred and secular, lyric and narrative, Adam creates a complex and multi-layered work which communicates on many levels, drawing on music's ability to inspire virtue and unite the human soul with the rhythms of the universe and the Divine.

Declaration:

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Signed: 

Date: 7th September 2008

To Richard

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List of Abbreviations

AH *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume and Henry M. Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-1922)
CAO *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, ed. Renato-Joanne Hesbert, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963-79)
LU *Liber Usualis: With Introduction and Rubrics in English*, ed. the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, 1950)
M *Bibliographie der ältesten Französischen und Lateinischen Motetten*, ed. Friedrich Gennrich (Darmstadt, 1958)
PG *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857-86)
PL *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1878-90)
Pmus. Pièce musicale, after the numbering of music in *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, ed. Emilie Dahnk (Leipzig, 1935)
R *G. Raynaud's Bibliographie des Altfranzösischen Liedes*, ed. Hans Spanke (Leiden, 1955; repr. with index, 1980)
RISM *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales*
vdB *Rondeaux et Refrains du XIIe Siècle au Début du XIVe*, ed. Nico H. J. van den Boogaard (Paris, 1969)

Sigla of Manuscripts

The manuscript sigla used throughout this thesis, and particularly in Table 3.3, are taken from Hans Tischler (ed.), *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: A Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols. (Neuhausen, 1997).

A Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657 (Chansonnier d'Arras)
a Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1490
B Berne, Burgerbibliothek, MS 231
Ba Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (*olim* Ed.IV.6)
C Berne, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS 389
Cl Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521 (Chansonnier de *La Clayette*)
e Metz, Bibliothèque de la Ville, lost fragment
F London, British Library, Egerton 274 (LoB)
Fauv Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 146
Flor Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1
I Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
i Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 12483
j Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 21677
K Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5198 (Chansonnier d'Arsenal)
L Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 765
M Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 844 (Manuscrit du Roi)
Mo Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196
N Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 845
O Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 846 (Chansonnier Cangé)
P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 847
p2 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3517-3518
R Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 1591

r6	*Méliacin*, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2757
	Méliacin, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 1589 & 1683
S	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 12581
T	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 12615 (Chansonnier de Noailles)
Tu	Turin, Biblioteca Reale, vari 42
U	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 20050 (Chansonnier St. Germain)
V	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 24406
X	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (Chansonnier Clairambault)
Z	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale H.X. 36
(4)	Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 535
(33)	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 753
(36)	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 10047, 1149 & 1634
(45)	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 183

Note to the Reader

All quotations of the *Ludus*' text are taken from the edition by Paul Bayart. When referring to the *Ludus*, I utilise the section numbering supplied in this edition, citing first the page number and then, in italics, the section number followed by details of stanza where necessary. Biblical quotations are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate text. Latin and Old French texts have been quoted from a variety of editions, details of which are provided in the notes and bibliography. Original passages are generally quoted in the main text although on occasion they are quoted in the footnotes, depending on context. Where available, I have used existing English translations and these are cited in the notes; other translations are my own, produced in conjunction with Christine Lacey. Translations of the texts of the *Ludus*' musical interpolations were prepared by members of the Language Centre at the University of Bristol. Tables are inserted at the end of the relevant chapters. Transcriptions of each of the *Ludus*' musical insertions are included in the Appendix, complete with full texts and translations. A separate table of contents at the front of the Appendix details specific page numbers for each transcription. Musical examples from the *Ludus* are my own transcriptions from the manuscript; information regarding notation is given in Chapter 3. When referring to the sources of the *Ludus*' liturgical *contrafacta*, I cite the chant identification number employed in the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* [*CAO*]. With regard to the secular *contrafacta*, trouvère songs are identified by the number given in Hans Spanke's revision of G. Raynaud's catalogue [R], refrains by the number ascribed in Nico H. J. van den Boogaard's catalogue [vdB], and motets by the number used in Friedrich Gennrich's bibliography of French and Latin motets [M]. Details of other abbreviations and manuscript sigla used are found on pages xii-xiii.

Introduction

Tunc ego præcipue solitus gravari,
Quandoque proposui quatenus levari
Valerem, si saperem leviter jocari,
Intentus opusculo placido tractari.

Sic rhythmum conficere subditum tentavi,
De pulchra materia plurimum et gravi;
Confisus de Domini munere suavi,
Qui grave de gratia temperat sua vi.[1]

With these words, Adam de la Bassée embarks upon the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum,* his metrical reworking of Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*.[2] Composed in 1182-3, the *Anticlaudianus* is Alan's most famous work, surviving in more than one hundred manuscripts. During the Middle Ages, it was treated as the equivalent of a classical text, inspiring the composition of numerous commentaries, glosses and translations, each of which explores a different facet of the poem and its allegory.[3] Amongst these works we find the *Ludus*, written at the end of the thirteenth century, some one hundred years after the original.[4] In his prologue, Adam reveals that he undertook the task of re-writing the *Anticlaudianus* as a pious distraction from a severe illness.[5] Although the nature of this affliction is unknown, Adam compares himself to an anvil repeatedly

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[1] 'Then I, usually accustomed to be troubled, seeing that I have resolved to be well in so far as I may be comforted, if I may have a taste to joke lightly, I intend to treat myself with this gentle little work. Thus, I have attempted to make a rhyme, most of it about a beautiful and serious subject; having relied on God for a sweet reward, who tempers it with grace through His great strength', Adam de la Bassée, *Ludus super Anticlaudianum, d'après le Manuscrit Original Conservé à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Lille, Publié avec une Introduction et des Notes*, ed. Paul Bayart (Tourcoing, 1930), 5, *2*, stanzas 2-3. When referring to the *Ludus*, I use the section numbering given in Bayart's edition – thus, the first number will refer to the page and the second, in italics, to the section. Subsequent numbers will indicate stanzas where necessary.

[2] Adam recasts Alan's original into thirteen-syllable mono-rhymed quatrains. For introductory information and a bibliography regarding Alan of Lille and the *Anticlaudianus*, see Winthrop Wetherbee, 'Alan of Lille', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13. vols., ed. Joseph Strayer (New York, 1982-9), i. 119. See also William H. Cornog, *The Anticlaudian of Alain de Lille* (Philadelphia, 1935); *Anticlaudianus*, ed. Robert Bossuat (Paris, 1955); *Anticlaudianus or The Good and Perfect Man*, ed. and trans., James J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973); Neil Adkin, 'Alan of Lille on Walter of Châtillon: *Anticlaudianus* I, 167-170', *Classica et Mediaevalia,* 43 (1992), 287-315; Jane Chance, 'The Artist as Epic Hero in Alan of Lille's "Anticlaudianus"', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 18 (1983), 238-47; Gillian R. Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1983); M. L. Fuehrer, 'The Cosmological Implications of the Psychomachia in Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*', *Studies in Philology*, 77 (1980), 344-53; James Simpson, 'The Information of Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*: A Preposterous Interpretation', *Traditio*, 47 (1992), 113-60.

[3] These include a full-scale commentary by Ralph of Longchamp, a vernacular imitation by the French poet Ellebaut, a work written by William of Auxerre in the thirteenth century and the fourteenth-century *Compendium Anticlaudiani*. Further information on these works can be found in Marc-René Jung, *Études sur le Poèmes Allégoriques en France au Moyen Âge* (Bern, 1971), 76-89. For a detailed examination of the reception and dissemination of both the *Anticlaudianus* and the *Ludus*, see Chapter 7 of this study.

[4] For the main study of the *Ludus*, see Andrew Hughes, 'The *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 1-25; see also Bayart, *Ludus*, vii-cvi.

[5] See *Ludus*, 3, *1* and 5, *2*.

beaten with hammers,[6] suggesting that he frequently suffered bouts of extreme pain. Adam's ill-health seems to have provided the impetus for his composition of the *Ludus*, the subject matter of which is entirely appropriate for someone seeking consolation from pain and contemplating the end of his life. Highlighting the necessity of salvation and redemption as the remedy for the sinful nature of humanity, Adam considers various theological and philosophical questions in a narrative which culminates in the triumph of good over evil, represented by the victory of a Perfect Man aided by the Virtues over the Vices. Within this framework, Adam concentrates on the moral and spiritual value of music and its ability to transform the body, mind and soul. Throughout his narrative and its lyric insertions, Adam explores the power of music to shape, bind and influence both the individual and society and to unite the human soul with the rhythms of God and the universe. In his conception of the *Ludus*, Adam draws on a Boethian three-fold theory of music, whereby *musica humana*, which marries together the rational and irrational parts of the soul, represents in microcosm *musica mundana*, the music which controls the universe as ordered by God.[7] According to this principle, it would seem that Adam wished to 'attune' himself, through his work, with his longed-for destination of the heavenly realms, where he would find an end to his sufferings.

I: The Manuscript and its Author

The *Ludus* exists in one late thirteenth-century manuscript, originally from the Chapter House of the collegiate church of St Pierre, Lille, where Adam lived and worked as a canon and priest. It is now housed in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lille.[8] The manuscript consists of forty-eight pages of parchment, measuring 267 mm by 183 mm, now enclosed within a nineteenth-century binding. Besides the *Ludus*, which comprises folios 2-41, the manuscript also contains three Latin moralistic poems on folios 42-47v.

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[6] 'jam incude mea, perforata continuis ictibus malleorum', *Ludus*, 3, *1*.

[7] See Boethius, *De Institutione Arithmetica Libri Duo De Institutione Musica Libra Quinque,* ed. Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867); Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. Leo Trietler, Vol. II: *The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. James McKinnon, trans. William Strunk Jr. and Oliver Strunk (New York, 1998), 30-33. Boethius enjoyed great popularity in the later Middle Ages, demonstrated by the fact that over 100 copies of *De Institutione Musica* are extant.

[8] Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 316 (*olim* 397 and 95). See Gilbert Reaney (ed.), *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th – Early 14th Century*, *RISM*, (Munich, 1966), B iv. 269-70. In the foreword to his edition of the *Anticlaudianus,* reproduced in *PL*, ccx. 482-576, Charles de Visch notes the existence of two manuscripts of the *Ludus* which were found in 1650 at the monastery of St Martin of Tournai. He was clearly unaware of the manuscript at Lille which appears to have remained unnoticed at St Pierre for many years. Unfortunately, the manuscripts at Tournai, believed by Bayart to be copies of the Lille manuscript, were dispersed and lost. For more information, see Bayart, *Ludus*, viii-ix.

Due to their thematic and stylistic similarities, these are also thought to be the work of Adam.[9] Despite the absence of illustrations, the manuscript is visually appealing and exhibits a desire for order and precision. Each page is divided into two columns of thirty-two pricked and ruled lines.[10] The initial letters, alternately red and blue, have been reserved for another hand and include a number of particularly ornate examples.[11] An examination of the manuscript reveals that much effort has been expended in terms of scribal corrections and annotations. The main corpus is written in a single hand,[12] with a second hand adding marginal and interlinear annotations, corrections, additions and the final poem at the end of the manuscript.[13]

It is clear that the layout of each opening has been carefully planned and that much attention has been given to the rubrication of the lyric insertions, highlighting their central significance to the work. In addition to the detailed system of rubrication, which specifies the title of each song, its source and, where relevant, its singer,[14] each musical item is notated in full, using partially mensural notation of the late thirteenth-century type.[15] The music is transcribed in black ink onto red four-line, or occasionally five-line, staves. The physical presence of the musical notation on the page, interspersed throughout the narrative, is indicative of its role within the work, emphasising its importance and stressing its equality with the text in communicating the plot and its key themes.[16] Overall, the manuscript conveys the impression of having been planned and executed for private use, within the community of St Pierre and, through its design and appearance, facilitates a clear and straightforward navigation through its pages.

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[9] For a brief synopsis of these poems, see Bayart, *Ludus*, x-xi; they are discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, 35-7.

[10] Towards the end of the manuscript, during the moralistic poems which contain no musical notation, the text layout switches to three columns, in order to utilise the space more economically.

[11] See folios 2r, 2v, 4v, 10r, 14r, 36v and 42r.

[12] The entry in *RISM* states that the handwriting is 'slightly Gothic', 269.

[13] This second hand frequently makes corrections, crossing through text and adding the correct word above (for an example, see fol. 16r, col. B, line 3) or employing reference marks such as A and B in order to add in verses or stanzas that were omitted in the original copying (see fol. 21r, col. B, stave 6, where a letter A in the margin indicates a second stanza at the foot of the page). There are also examples of marginal annotations which explain the allegory of the text: on fol. 23v, col. A, Prudence is described as being overcome by God's brilliance and is thus given a mirror in which to gaze upon His reflection instead. A marginal comment, 'Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmate' (We see now through a glass in a dark manner), quotes from 1 Cor. 13:12, and serves to clarify the biblical allusion behind this allegory.

[14] Details of these rubrics and the sources upon which each item is based can be found in Table 3.3.

[15] There is *longa* and *brevis* differentiation, plicas appear on longs and breves, whilst the ligatures are only partly mensural. For more detail on aspects of notation, see Chapter 3, 105-14.

[16] As will be discussed in Chapter 2, many lyric-interpolated *romans* do not include musical notation for their insertions.

The dating of the *Ludus* manuscript has caused some debate, but it is generally agreed to have been written during the 1280s. Other than the *Catalogue Général*,[17] which dates the manuscript as early fourteenth century, most other scholars concur that the *Ludus* was copied and compiled before the author's death in 1286.[18] Andrew Hughes provides limits of 1279 and 1285,[19] whilst in the introduction of his edition, Paul Bayart suggests that the *Ludus* can be dated fairly exactly. Taking Adam's reference to Spring at the beginning of the prologue literally, he proposes this to be a genuine indication of the season in which Adam began work. He also highlights two episodes in the narrative which he believes provide *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* for the period of composition. The first of these episodes appears in section 148,[20] and includes a reference to the torture of Pierre de la Broche, an event which occurred on 30th June 1278.[21] This leads Bayart to suggest that the earliest date on which Adam could have started work on the *Ludus* was the following Spring of 1279. The second episode is an allusion in section 125 to troubles in Lille between Pope Martin IV and Charles of Anjou which transpired in 1285.[22] As the strophe in which this is mentioned has been added to the manuscript in the margin at the bottom of the page, it appears to be an afterthought, appended after the bulk of the *Ludus* had been written. If this is the case, it would imply that the *Ludus* had already been completed in 1284, thus indicating a period of composition dating from the Spring of 1279 to the end of 1284.[23]

The dating issue is of central importance to our understanding of the *Ludus*. If, as seems almost certain, the finished manuscript dates from before Adam's death, the explanatory marginal corrections and glosses are most likely the work of Adam, clarifying those aspects of his narrative that he felt were unclear.[24] This suggests that the *Ludus* was prepared and compiled under Adam's direction and subsequently revised by him, enabling us to read the manuscript as embodying his specific artistic intentions. Adam's editorial

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[17] Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Départements* (Paris, 1897), xxvi. 271-2.
[18] It would appear that Adam's illness was the cause of his premature death; it is believed that he died before reaching old age – within a year or so of completing the *Ludus* – due to the fact that his sister was still alive twenty years later in 1305: see Bayart, *Ludus*, xiii-xiv.
[19] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 3.
[20] See *Ludus*, 141, *148*.
[21] Bayart, *Ludus*, xvi.
[22] See *Ludus*, 127, *125*. More information on this is given in Chapter 3, 161.
[23] For further information on this, see Bayart, *Ludus*, xvi-xvii.
[24] See Ardis Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146* (Oxford, 1998), 105-159, at 116; see also Bayart, *Ludus*, vii; Hughes, '*Ludus*', 3.

involvement in the design, copying and production of the manuscript provides useful indicators of the manner in which the work would have been received. For the medieval reader, scribe and editor functioned as mediators between the written text and its audience, both reading and interpreting.[25] Through their *conjointure* of different texts within a manuscript, their juxtaposition of various elements within a text, or their chosen arrangements of components on a page, they sought to reveal to their readers new ways of approaching and understanding their texts. Thus the duality of Adam's role as both author and scribal editor would have allowed him to 'speak' directly to his audience, addressing them both from within the narrative text and from without, through his rubrics, guiding their reading and uncovering new schemes of interpretation.

Very little is known about Adam de la Bassée, yet from various sources it is possible to piece together a sketchy portrait. Although few details regarding his life remain, we know from an obituary preserved in an *Obituaire* of St Pierre that Adam was a canon and priest who died on 26th February 1286.[26] His life before becoming a priest is unknown, but it is possible that Adam, like many of the young clerics at St Pierre, studied theology at Paris.[27] Whilst there is no direct evidence to support this claim, Adam's mention of the Seine in section 33,[28] not found in the *Anticlaudianus*, forges a possible link between Adam and Paris.[29] As noted earlier, Adam states in his prologue that he is suffering from an undisclosed illness. His ill-health is confirmed by the fact that, on 17th April 1285, it is recorded that Biétris Laubegoise, 'formerly sister to Lord Adam de la Bassée, canon of Lille', purchased him a rent of 20 pounds, established, it would seem, with a view to furnishing a retreat for the ill canon.[30] Following Adam's death, on 5th November 1305, this rent was used to found a chapel in which a certain number of masses were celebrated each week 'to pray for the souls of Matthew, Beatrix and their brother

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[25] For an examination of scribal practices and poetic processes in both narrative and lyric anthologies, as well as a discussion of medieval reading habits, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, 1987), particularly 36-45 and 64-73.

[26] 'Ade de Basseia, hujus ecclesie canonici et presbiteri', Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564, fol. 14, IIII kal. mart. See also Éduoard Hautcœur, *Documents Liturgiques et Nécrologiques de l'Église Collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille* (Lille, 1895), 140.

[27] Éduoard Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale et du Chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 3 vols. (Lille, 1896-9), i. 191.

[28] See stanza 9.

[29] See Bayart, *Ludus*, xiv.

[30] See Théodore Leuridian, *Les Chatelains de Lille: Extrait des Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de l'Agriculture et des Arts de Lille* (Lille, 1897), 278; also Bayart, *Ludus*, xiii-xiv.

Adam'.[31] Perhaps the clearest indication of the character and nature of Adam comes from the *Ludus* itself, through which he reveals himself to be an educated and devout man, aware of his own impending mortality and inherent sinfulness, who found comfort and consolation in his faith, in God and in music.

II: The *Ludus* and the *Anticlaudianus*

In terms of its plot, the *Ludus* follows its model closely.[32] As in Alan's *Anticlaudianus*, the poem begins with a description of the beauty of Nature's paradise. All is perfect, except for the sin of humankind. Nature despairs that she has been unable to create anything without flaw and conceives of an idea to create a Perfect Man, endowed with all virtue, who will be able to conquer the Vices. She summons a council of her sisters, the Virtues, who agree to help. However, they acknowledge that none of them is able to create a soul, a task which can only be accomplished by God. To this end, Prudence is dispatched to the heavenly court in order to request a soul. Her journey to heaven is described in great detail, beginning with the building of a chariot by the seven Liberal Arts. On arriving in heaven, Prudence states her case before God. He praises her mission and agrees to create a perfect soul. Prudence then returns to earth, where the body and soul are united by Concord to create the Perfect Man, who is endowed with gifts from the Virtues. Word of this reaches Allecto, who marshals her troops of Vices and a battle ensues over the Perfect Man's soul. The Perfect Man and the Virtues defeat the Vices, at which the Golden Age is restored. The poem concludes with a prayer for the author's healing.

Structured around the journey made by Prudence to request a perfect soul from God, Adam's narrative is an allegorical representation of the soul's ascent, with the help of Faith and Theology, to God. Within this allegory, the Perfect Man, who is both earthly and divine, represents a Christ-like figure, sent to redeem mankind from its fallen state. In Alan's inception of the *Anticlaudianus*, the Perfect Man depicted in the narrative is not Christ. However, he was identified as such in subsequent medieval reception, for example by William of Auxerre in the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth-century *Compendium*

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[31] This chapel was founded not at St Pierre itself, but at the *Notre Dame de la Salle*: see Éduoard Hautcœur, *Cartulaire de l'Église Collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1894), i. 504-5; ii. 588, 592-4; Hautcœur, *Documents*, 285.

[32] For a detailed outline of the plot of the *Ludus*, see Table 3.2 and for an in-depth comparison of the plots of the *Ludus* and the *Anticlaudianus*, see Chapter 7, 307-8.

Anticlaudiani,[33] whilst in other adaptations of Alan's work, he is more simply realised as a contemplative, monkish figure.[34] At the very end of the *Ludus*, Adam explains that the Perfect Man symbolises the faithful soul, who retires to the cloister of Contemplation:

> Claustrum Contemplatio congrue vocari
> Hoc potest, et juvene anima notari
> Fidelis, quæ Domino fruitur. – Hic fari
> Desisto, ne peream naufragus in mari.[35]

Yet, as the Christian life advocated throughout the work is to be lived in imitation of Christ, Adam's hero is also analogous to Christ, an identity which is strongly reinforced throughout the *Ludus*.

Whilst based closely on the *Anticlaudianus*, Adam employs a different style, metre and vocabulary in the *Ludus*. Writing in a more 'lively, realistic and practical tone'[36] than Alan's forbidding philosophical allegory, Adam recasts the work's central issues of life, death, sin and salvation within a Christological framework. The Christian elements of his allegorical narrative are emphasised and Adam introduces his own thematic agenda, which he expresses through moral digressions and fantasy.[37] When Adam deviates momentarily from his model, his literary excursions involve Holy Scripture and the liturgy, or his concerns over the moral life of the clergy, topics that would have been of great importance to Adam as a religious. The moral tone of his work is somewhat purified, signalling the overall purpose of the *Ludus* to be one of edification, both for Adam and for those who would subsequently read his manuscript. Reflecting a concern to simplify, Adam renders the original allegory far more accessible, abbreviating lengthy descriptions and eliminating esoteric passages,[38] in order that his own moral instruction and thematic intentions are apparent and easily conveyed.

Music serves an important function in the conception of the *Anticlaudianus* and the *Ludus*. Both narratives incorporate numerous references to music: the birdsong heard in Nature's paradise, the celestial music of the spheres, the songs of the Sirens and the

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[33] See Jung, *Études sur le Poème Allégorique*, 76-89.
[34] Linda E. Marshall, 'The Identity of the "New Man" in the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille', *Viator*, 10 (1979), 77-94, at 80.
[35] 'The Cloister is Contemplation, the young man we can call the faithful soul who enjoys the company of God. Here, he can rest and not be shipwrecked on the sea', *Ludus*, 170, *187*, stanza 8.
[36] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 2.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 3.

personification of Music as she presents her gift to the Perfect Man.[39] In the *Anticlaudianus*, Alan portrays the character and purpose of Music in neo-Platonic terms, describing 'what music may do, what are the chains by which it binds all things together in fast bonds, what form of art it is'.[40] In Adam's description of Music, he recalls the example of Orpheus, poet and musician, who charmed the watchdog of the underworld with the beauty of his music, lulling him to sleep.[41] With this example, Adam illustrates the power of music and its ability to unite and control body, mind and soul, a premise which governs the *Ludus*.[42] Emphasising the centrality of music to his work, Adam inserts into his narrative thirty-eight musical pieces, twenty of which are *contrafacta*, whilst the remaining eighteen are unique to this manuscript and are believed to be the work of Adam.[43] These insertions encompass a wide variety of styles and genres, including hymns, sequences, a responsory, a lai-*notula*, a rondeau, a pastourelle and a polyphonic motet, representing both sacred and profane repertories, ancient and contemporary techniques, and *contrafacta* and newly-composed items.[44] The musical insertions form an integral part of the *Ludus* and operate on numerous levels throughout the work, amplifying and emphasising its central allegory.

III: 'Ludus' in the *Ludus*

As will be explored throughout this study, within the *Ludus* Adam provides his audience with various signs indicating the way in which his work should be approached and decoded. The first of these markers regarding the nature of the work appears in its title, *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*. Clearly, the latter part of the title signals its relationship with the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille, but the clue to its essential character lies in the word *ludus*.[45] Within the corpus of medieval drama, there are relatively few occurrences of the title 'Ludus', with many authors preferring instead titles such as 'Ordo', 'Representatio' or 'Officium'. Of those that do utilise this term, for example, 'Danielis Ludus' or 'Ludus de

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[39] This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, 265-70.
[40] 'monstrams quid musica possit, que sint vincla quibus compaginet omnia nodis, que species artis', Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, ed. Bossuat, 101; translation by Hughes, in '*Ludus*', 1.
[41] See *Ludus*, 52-4, *36* for Adam's description of Music.
[42] For a more comprehensive analysis of this reference to Orpheus, see Chapter 6, 278-80.
[43] See Chapter 3, 142-51 for more details.
[44] For details of all these insertions and their location within the narrative, see Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.
[45] In Latin, the word *jocus* is used primarily in relation to words (jokes, riddles) whereas *ludus* refers to non-verbal play, but in the thirteenth century the two words were interchangeable, see Luiz Jean Lauand, '*Ludus* in the Fundamentals of Aquinas' World-View', *International Studies on Law and Education*, 2 (1999), 73-100, at 74. In the third line of the prologue, Adam employs the word 'jocari' when describing the nature of his work.

Passione', *ludus* is interpreted as 'play', i.e. the Play of Daniel. Yet, for the thirteenth-century reader, *ludus* would also have conjured up a second meaning, that of a game, a puzzle or riddle, a 'play on words'. By utilising this word in his title, Adam invokes its ambiguities as a means of suggesting various interpretative directions for his work. Indeed, the duality inherent in this term is reflected in the nature of the *Ludus* which, as will be explored throughout this study, contains several overlapping layers of meaning. In its form and structure, the *Ludus* mimics works such as 'Danielis Ludus' and, with its religious subject matter and use of liturgical *contrafacta*, evokes the genre of the liturgical drama.[46] Similarly, with its narrative thread interspersed with lyric and musical interludes, and its detailed scheme of rubrication with its attention to details of performance and characterisation, the *Ludus* possesses a dramatic quality, akin to a *roman*, a story intended for performance for the sake of entertainment. However, throughout his work, Adam constantly plays with the other interpretation of *ludus*, subtly informing his audience of another thread of meaning. Through its diverse musical insertions, the *Ludus* poses its readers assorted riddles or memory games as a means of communicating its central message, a message which can only be deciphered by those able to interpret its various clues.

In his prologue, Adam draws a connection between the act of play and the act of creation, stating that his composition of the *Ludus* took the form of a game which served as a means of entertainment and distraction from his illness.[47] This relationship between playing and creating is not unique to Adam but forms an integral part of the thinking of Thomas Aquinas, within whose writing *ludus* is of great importance.[48] In the *Summa Theologiae*[49] and his commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle (*Sententia Libri Ethicorum*),[50] Aquinas made a study on the ludic, expounding upon the idea that man should play in order to live humanly and to know reality: 'Ludus est necessarius ad conversationem humanae vitae'.[51] Developing this theory further, in art. 2 of *quaestio* 168, Aquinas asserts that, in the same way that man requires physical rest for the well-being of his body, so too

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[46] The relationship between the *Ludus* and liturgical drama is explored in Chapter 5.
[47] See the quotation at the beginning of the Introduction.
[48] For a detailed exploration of 'ludus' in the theology of Thomas Aquinas, see Lauand, '*Ludus* in the Fundamentals of Aquinas' World-View', 73-100.
[49] See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II-II, q. 168, art. 2, 3 and 4, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries* ed. Thomas Gilby (London, 1972), xliv. 214-220, 220-4 and 224-7.
[50] See Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia Libri Ethicorum*, lib. IV, lectio 16, *Opera Omnia Iussu Leonis XIII P. M. Edita*, Tome XLVII, 2 vols. (Rome, 1969).
[51] 'Playing is necessary for humane intercourse': see *Summa*, q. 168, ad. 3 of art. 3, translation from *Summa Theologiae*, xliv. 222-3.

does he need 'rest' for his soul, rest which is accomplished through play.[52] Indeed, he continues that this 'spiritual recreation', so vital to life, is only possible through *ludus*. This is of particular importance for those who engage in intellectual and contemplative activities, as they are more vulnerable to the wearing out of their spiritual reserves.[53] It is likely that, for Adam, who appears weary in body, mind and spirit, such a theory would have resonated deeply.

Utilising the Aristotelian concept of *eutrapelia*,[54] Aquinas states that play qualified with temperance becomes a moral virtue, due to its ability to improve the soul.[55] To play is good, he affirms, as it serves an important function in life, providing a diversion from anxiety and sadness and a respite from serious activities.[56] Through play, tensions are dissipated, depression is lifted and relationships restored, enabling man to live harmoniously with his fellows,[57] an ideal state similar to that depicted at the end of the *Ludus*.[58] Aquinas' emphasis on the fundamental importance of *ludus* is rooted in his belief that God Himself plays. Stating that this is seen most clearly in the act of divine creation, Aquinas cites Proverbs 8:30-31: 'Cum eo eram cuncta componens et delectabar per singulos dies ludens coram eo omni tempore, ludens in orbe terrarum et deliciae meae esse

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[52] Lauand, '*Ludus* in the Fundamentals of Aquinas' World-View', 75.
[53] Ibid.
[54] See Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 7; IV, 8, in which Aristotle describes *eutrapelia* as the virtue of possessing a cheerful disposition. Aquinas interprets this as 'cheerfulness or well-turned wit': see note 55 below.
[55] *Summa*, II-II, q. 168 art. 2, 'Sed contra est quod Augustinus dicit, in II musicae, *volo tandem tibi parcas, nam sapientem decet interdum remittere aciem rebus agendis intentam*. Sed ista remissio animi a rebus agendis fit per ludicra verba et facta. Ergo his uti interdum ad sapientem et virtuosum pertinet. Philosophus etiam ponit virtutem eutrapeliae circa ludos, quam nos possumus dicere iucunditatem' (On the other hand there is Augustine's counsel [Music. 2, 15]: 'Spare thyself I pray thee, for it befits a wise man to relax at times and soften the edge of attention'. This is afforded by playful words and deeds, and a wise and virtuous man will sometimes turn to them. Aristotle, too, [Ethic. II, 7; IV, 8] assigns the virtue of *eutrapelia* to playing; we may call it cheerfulness or well-turned wit'), trans. from *Summa Theologiae*, xliv. 216-7.
[56] Aquinas, *Sententia Libri Ethicorum*, lib. IV, lectio 16, 2: see note 56 below for quotation. See also Lauand, '*Ludus* in the Fundamentals of Aquinas' World-View', 76.
[57] Aquinas, *Sententia Libri Ethicorum*, lib. IV, lectio 16, 2: 'Habet autem aliquam rationem boni, inquantum est utilis humanae vitae. Sicut enim homo indigent a corporalibus laboribus interdum desistendo quiescere, ita etiam indigent u tab intentione animi qua rebus seriis homo intendit interdum anima hominis requiescat: quod quidem fit per ludum. Et ideo dicit quod, cum sit quaedam requies hominis ab anxietate sollicitudinum in hac vita et in conversatione humana per ludum, et sic ludus habet rationem boni utilis, consequens est quod in ludis posit esse quaedam conveniens collocutio hominum adinvicem' (But amusement does have an aspect of good inasmuch as it is useful for human living. As man sometimes needs to give his body rest from labours, so also he sometimes needs to rest his soul from mental strain that ensues from his application to serious affairs. This is done by amusement. For this reason Aristotle says that, since there should be some relaxation for man from the anxieties and cares of human living and social intercourse by means of amusement – thus amusement has the aspect of useful good – it follows that in amusement there can be a certain agreeable association of men with one another).
[58] *Ludus*, 168-9, *186*.

cum filiis hominum'.[59] For Aquinas, this passage depicts the Son of God, the Word, the creative Intelligence of God, engaged with his Father in the great 'game' of divine creation, in which *ludus* expresses the joy of God.[60] Thus, if Man is to know both himself and God truly, he must partake in this 'divine game' in imitation of his Creator.

As in the writings of Aquinas, the element of creative play is a fundamental aspect of the *Ludus*' signifying system. For Adam, the act of *ludus*, evoked throughout the work in its allegorical narrative and its musical interpolations which draw on a network of intertextual references and citations, serves as a means of distraction, providing rest from other, more serious activities. In a microcosmic representation of the act of divine creation, Adam's composition of the *Ludus* unites the two strands of creativity and play, weaving together a complex and elaborate puzzle to be unravelled. Designed as a work intended to guide the reader on a journey of discovery, both of the self and of God, its ludic elements provide entertainment for the mind and rest and recreation for the soul, suitable for inspiring virtue. The 'game' of the *Ludus*, which offers new interpretative possibilities and suggests additional subtexts, demands to be solved in order to reveal the true meaning of the work.

In my first attempt to unravel the riddle posed by the *Ludus*, I began by exploring the nature of the musical items which Adam inserts into his narrative, endeavouring to discern their purpose. On closer examination, these interpolations revealed a number of curious dichotomies. In addition to the twenty songs based on pre-existing melodies, the insertions include a number of items that appear to have been newly-composed specifically for the *Ludus*. Of the *contrafacta* items, the models are drawn from both sacred and profane repertories, incorporating within their texts several seemingly contradictory ideologies. The insertions vary from the established music of the liturgy, employed by Adam as *auctoritas*, to courtly love lyrics of the trouvères and popular dance music derived from a contemporary repertoire and, whilst the majority of the interpolations are monophonic, there are two items, an *Agnus* and a motet, which are written in two parts. Finally, although the insertions are all ascribed new Latin texts composed by Adam, the models for his *contrafacta* comprise Latin sacred songs alongside songs with texts in the

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[59] 'I was with Him forming all things and was delighted every day, playing before Him at all times, playing in the world and my delights were to be with the children of men'.
[60] Lauand, '*Ludus* in the Fundamentals of Aquinas' World-View', 77; see *Scriptum super Sententiis*, lib. I, distinctio 2, quaestio 1 art. 5, expos.; Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum Super Libros Sententiarum: Magistri Petri Lombardi Episcopi Parisiensis*, 2 vols., ed. Pierre Lethielleux (Paris, 1929).

vernacular. These dichotomies caused me to ask new questions of the work. For whom did Adam write this work and how did he intend that it should be received by a contemporary audience? What do the profane insertions signify within the context of a fundamentally Christian allegorical narrative and how are they meant to be interpreted? Why does Adam employ such a wide variety of diverse musical items, each with their own particular set of characteristics and resonances, and combine two different types of interpolations, some based on pre-existing models and others newly-composed? Indeed, what purpose lies at the heart of Adam's decision to weave many strands of music into his narrative, creating a multi-layered tapestry of meaning?

Various scholars have suggested that Adam intended the *Ludus* as a *roman*, a form of moral entertainment, and that the musical insertions served to render it more enjoyable and appealing.[61] Whilst this may be true in part, I believe that, rather than mere decoration, the music is a fundamental part of the *Ludus*' scheme of exposition and that Adam employed his chosen interpolations to encode aspects of his thematic agenda. I intend to prove that the *Ludus* was created to be studied, by those in search of edification, and that a complete understanding of its themes and purpose requires an active engagement with the musical insertions, recalling previous texts and contexts and making connections. I aim to show that the various component parts of the *Ludus* – old text, new text, narrative and music – interact and engage in dialogue with one another, enriching the layers of resonance and enabling the work to function simultaneously on a number of different levels. By exploring a variety of interpretative pathways, I intend to reveal the centrality of music to the *Ludus* and demonstrate that it is an essential component of its network of signification without which the *Ludus* may be only partially understood.

IV: The *Ludus* and Lyric Insertion

In recent years, both literary scholars and musicologists have become increasingly interested in the corpus of lyric-interpolated narratives and various studies have been undertaken which explore these works from many different angles.[62] In my research I have been particularly inspired by studies of intertextuality and 'dialogism', which examine the methods of musical and textual citation employed by composers and compilers in order to

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[61] See, for instance, Hughes, '*Ludus*', 3.
[62] For more information on the various ways in which these works have been approached, see Chapter 2, 53-9.

evoke chains of related references and resonances, adding further dimensions to the original narrative. Work on the materiality of texts, book production and theories of the book has influenced the manner in which I have approached the *Ludus* in its manuscript context, as an artefact which indicates to its audience through its physicality the way in which it should be read and understood. My examination of the physical appearance of the *Ludus* manuscript considers how its design might be expressive and explores various ways in which meaning can be encoded through manuscript layout. This is informed by the work of Sylvia Huot concerning the 'theatrical' quality of medieval manuscripts in which she proposes that, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there was a move from a performative to a more writerly poetics whereby authors employ the physical layout of their work as a means of communicating artistic intention.[63]

Emma Dillon's study of the music in the *Roman de Fauvel* has been especially influential, particularly her examination of the practice of writing music 'en livre' and her discussion of the altered status of the material form of music, independent of its role as a prescription for performance.[64] In my aim to explore each of the various components of the *Ludus*, ascertaining their relationships with one another and enquiring as to the way in which they are to be read as a whole, I follow the paths forged by the many accomplished *Fauvel* scholars. Indeed, several of my hypotheses regarding the *Ludus* have been influenced by the wealth of scholarship on *Fauvel* and, in particular, by the interdisciplinary approach adopted by many of the scholars in which text, music and, in the case of *Fauvel*, image are considered in unison in order to realise the true scope of the work.

My work centres around the concept that, within this corpus of lyric-interpolated works, the interleaved musical items provide their own narrative, subtly altering the semantic parameters of the work into which they are inserted. This forms the basis for my examination of the musical insertions in the *Ludus*, particularly the *contrafacta*, as I explore the extra-textual and extra-musical resonances to which Adam alludes through his citations. This interpretation has been influenced by research into works such as *Guillaume de Dole*, in which knowledge of the original contexts of the musical items informs their

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[63] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 2-4.
[64] Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the* Roman de Fauvel (Cambridge, 2002), 4.

significance within new environs.[65] My reading of the *Ludus* and, indeed, other works in this corpus, entails an interpretation of the musical insertions as 'keys' to unlocking additional layers of meaning within the work. I propose that various signs can be located within the narrative which indicate the status of the musical insertions and the method by which the work should be received. In many of these works, it is the musical insertions themselves which encapsulate the central message of the narrative and serve to indicate an author's artistic and thematic agenda. In this reading, I draw upon the scholarship of Maureen Barry McGann Boulton and Ardis Butterfield, both of whom have explored in great detail the corpus of lyric-interpolated *romans*, with particular emphasis upon the numerous roles served by music within these narratives.[66] Recent scholarship has stressed the necessity of detailed contextual and intertextual analysis of the musical items inserted within a narrative framework in order to ascertain the author's intention for his work and to decipher its meaning. To this end, my approach combines musical, poetic, literary and codicological analysis with the aim of demonstrating the various ways in which these elements function together in harmony within the *Ludus*' framework, expanding its frames of reference.

V: The *Ludus* and Related Scholarship

With its narrative structure interspersed with a variety of musical items, the *Ludus* forms part of the tradition of lyric-interpolated works. Yet within this corpus, it has often been overlooked, primarily because it is written in Latin as opposed to Old French, the predominant language of this repertory. Also, its status as a re-working, rather than an 'original' creation, sets it apart from the main tradition. Indeed, since the publication in 1930 of the sole edition of the *Ludus*, only one article devoted exclusively to this work has been written.[67] The *Ludus* has received mention by several nineteenth-century scholars within historical surveys of Lille and the collegiate church of St Pierre but these tend only to concentrate on a particular aspect of the work, either its music or its poetry, or merely

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[65] See Maria Vedder Coldwell, '*Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations', *Musica Disciplina*, 35 (1981), 55-86.
[66] See Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, *Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (M.Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1980); Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1993) and Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002).
[67] Hughes, '*Ludus*'.

mention its existence in passing, with no further discussion of its content or meaning.[68] Bayart's edition, although offering some useful information regarding Adam and a helpful summary of the plot, seeks simply to provide a basic outline of the various components of the *Ludus* and shows no attempt to address the work as a whole. This approach inevitably misses the complex web of allusions, citation and references, woven so carefully by Adam throughout his work, and it is this web which I wish to unravel, tracing the origins and independent histories of the *contrafacta* insertions and considering the various resonances evoked.

In the same way, Hughes, whilst providing a detailed and informative account of the work and its music, suggests that many of the insertions were selected merely at random and concludes that there is no relation between the original trouvère texts and Adam's newly-composed versions.[69] I intend to demonstrate, through examining the various groups of musical items used in the *Ludus* – sacred *contrafacta*, secular *contrafacta* and *unica* – that each of Adam's choices was made specifically and deliberately and that each insertion is employed to serve a particular role in explicating the overall purpose of the work. As seen in works such as *Fauvel*, I will show that Adam incorporates a 'programme' of insertion within his narrative which expounds his central themes and widens its contextual framework. No study has yet addressed the question of why Adam chose to incorporate music into his poem or has fully explored the effect that the music has upon its enclosing narrative, creating several additional layers of meaning. Similarly, there has been no real attempt to contextualise the *Ludus*, interpreting it within various contemporaneous literary and musical developments. My research seeks to extend the boundaries within which the *Ludus* can be considered, investigating it from new angles and considering the relationships between poetry and song, narrative and music, with relation to Adam's artistic agenda. Through this study I wish to highlight the complexity of works such as the *Ludus*, in which music, far from simple ornamentation, constitutes an integral part of the work, guiding the reader and elucidating the core themes. I hope to

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[68] See D. Carnel, 'Chants Liturgique d'Adam de la Bassée' in *Messager des Sciences Historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie de Belgique* (Ghent, 1858), 241-64; C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1852), 44 and 96; Victor Derode, *Histoire de Lille et de la Flandre Wallonne*, 4 vols. (Lille, 1877; repr. Marseille, 1975), i. 284 and 393; Albert Dupuis, *Alain de Lille* (Lille, 1859), 116-129; Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 65-7; Gaston Raynaud, *Recueil de Motets Français des XIIe and XIIIe Siècles Publiés d'après les Manuscrits, avec Introduction, Notes, Variantes et Glossaires*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1881-3). Later references, by Friedrich Ludwig in 'Die Quellen der Motetten "ältesten Stils"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 5 (1923; repr. 1964), 185-222, at 214, and Gustave Reese in *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), 227, add very little to these earlier scholars.

[69] See Hughes, '*Ludus*', 11.

suggest fresh ways of approaching these lyric-interpolated narratives, and propose readings which privilege the musical insertions. My central focus, as with Adam himself, will be the musical insertions. They will form the starting point of all my enquiries and will guide me as I seek to explore wider contexts and thematic strands which bind together text, music and meaning within the *Ludus*.

In order to examine the *Ludus* fully and to gain a deeper understanding of its meaning and purpose, I will locate it within a number of relevant contexts, each of which illuminates a particular facet of the *Ludus*. The study begins by exploring the musical, literary and liturgical traditions of the community of St Pierre within which the *Ludus* was produced. Following this, Chapter 2 suggests various generic contexts for the *Ludus*, examining its relationship to other narratives with lyric insertions and considering the impact of contemporaneous developments in reading, writing and the idea of 'the book' upon the way in which it should be approached. Having contextualised the *Ludus*, Chapter 3 focuses specifically upon the musical items, the ways in which they are inserted into the narrative and the roles which they fulfil. A detailed examination of a number of Adam's insertions demonstrates the criteria by which they are chosen for the *Ludus* and reveals the detailed web of references and resonances which they evoke. Chapter 4 examines the theme of love in both its sacred and profane guises as prevalent throughout the *Ludus*, addressing the methods used to reconcile the liturgical and secular musical items within a predominantly Christian allegorical narrative. The liturgical items which Adam incorporates into his narrative are discussed in Chapter 5, exploring the ritual actions with which they are associated and assessing the redemptive significance they would have held to a contemporary audience. The themes of procession and pilgrimage are considered in relation to the allegorical journey mapped out throughout the *Ludus*. Chapter 6 is concerned with the cosmological and philosophical themes of the work, with particular reference to Adam's theory that music may serve as an agent for moral and spiritual improvement, as expressed through his chosen insertions. Finally, the study concludes by tracing the reception and dissemination history of the work, assessing its significance and wider influence as forerunner of works such as *Fauvel*. Throughout these chapters I propose that the *Ludus* was originally conceived of as a handbook for moral instruction and improvement. Written and glossed like an academic textbook with a system of rubrication designed to guide and instruct the reader, it is an ecclesiastical equivalent of *Fauvel*'s political admonition and counsel in the tradition of a 'Mirror of Princes'. Within this

framework, the musical items serve a variety of purposes according to their form, genre and original context in order to enhance the allegory of the narrative. Drawing on a number of different traditions and conventions, Adam weaves together a work of intricate complexities in which the diverse lyric interpolations transform the *Ludus* into a work of 'serious amusement',[70] designed for the entertainment, enrichment and edification of Adam and the members of the community of St Pierre.

[70] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, '*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis*: Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies*, 53-72, at 54.

Chapter One
Authorial Contexts: St Pierre in the Thirteenth Century

Sitting in the reading room of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lille, having surrendered passport and letters of recommendation in exchange for a first-hand examination of the *Ludus*, it is easy to feel a sense of familiarity towards this manuscript, so long studied from photocopies and microfilms. Turning its stiff, waxy pages, it is tempting to read the presence of the author into all the inky fingerprints or holes in the parchment where an overzealous scribe has ruled the page too sharply, and to feel a connection with all those readers who have held this manuscript before. Yet the hushed tones of other library users, the chill of the air-conditioning and the computerised catalogue on which the manuscripts are now logged serve as reminders that this experience of the *Ludus* manuscript, in twenty-first century Lille, is very different from that of Adam de la Bassée and the other members of the *collégiale* at St Pierre. In engaging with and making use of this work, Adam and his fellow canons would have brought with them a particular mindset, replete with knowledge, opinions and an outlook gleaned from their daily lives and experiences. Their acquaintance with the environment within which the work was created would have rendered them alive to the extra-textual and -musical references and allusions woven through its pages. Traversing the various centuries since the *Ludus*' creation and exploring the backdrop against which Adam conceived of and composed his work, it is possible to begin to understand and approach the *Ludus* as it might have been viewed during the thirteenth century. To this end, this chapter seeks to locate the *Ludus* within a specific time and place, enquiring how its various contexts shaped the work itself, the way in which it would have been read and the way we regard it now. By 'excavating' the thirteenth-century *collégiale* from the rubble of past centuries and examining the various influences which would have been operating on Adam, this chapter aims to demonstrate the ways in which the themes, compositional techniques and music of the *Ludus* would have resonated with the townspeople of Lille and the community within which it was produced.

I: A Brief History of Lille and its *Collégiale*

To begin my reconstruction of thirteenth-century life at St Pierre, I wish to outline a brief history of Lille and the establishment of its *collégiale*, where Adam lived and worked. With the use of various sources, some contemporaneous with Adam and others dating from

the nineteenth century, it is possible to gain a clearer sense of St Pierre around the time that Adam was writing the *Ludus*. Whilst this can offer only a flavour of clerical life in the thirteenth century, it nevertheless provides a useful starting point from which to explore the *Ludus* and supplies a number of clues as to how Adam's work might have been received by the audience for whom it was originally intended. A deeper knowledge of St Pierre and its occupants facilitates an awareness of the numerous resonances evoked through the *Ludus* and its insertions which would have chimed with Adam and his fellow canons, adding new dimensions to his work.

Situated in northern France, now the chief town of the Département du Nord, Lille was formerly the capital of Flanders. It receives its first mention in a charter granted by Baudouin V, Count of Lille, dated 1066, which confirms the foundation of the *collégiale*. Preceding this, in 1055, the foundation stone was laid within the *castrum*,[1] at which point the canons were also established. The service of the dedication of the *collégiale* took place on 2nd August 1065 and, attended by five bishops from surrounding sees and a throng of local dignitaries, was a grand occasion celebrated with great pomp and ritual.[2] Following the ceremony itself, the canons took to the streets of Lille in a procession of the various relics of the region, both extending the relevance of the celebration to include all the townspeople and mapping out the boundaries of the church's influence and jurisdiction.[3] According to one of the oldest chronicles of the Flanders region,[4] the foundation of St Pierre marked the beginning of the prosperity of the town and, throughout its existence, the *collégiale* remained one of Lille's prized possessions until its destruction at the end of the eighteenth century.[5]

Archaeological examination has revealed that the church building erected by Baudouin is not that which existed at the end of the eighteenth century. From a series of

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[1] Fortified city walls.
[2] Alexandre de Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille des Origines à 1749* (Paris, 1993), 25; see also Albert Chatelet, Pierre Bruyelle and Jacques Gardelles, *Histoire de Lille: Des Origines à l'Avènement de Charles Quint* (Lille, 1970), 323.
[3] Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 25; see also Chatelet et al., *Histoire de Lille*, 323.
[4] Martin L'Hermite, *Collège de la Compagnie de Jésus à Lille d'après le R. P. Martin Lhermite, en son Histoire des Saints de la Province de Lille, Douai et Orchies, 1638* (Lille, *c.* 1880), 306-7.
[5] Éduoard Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale et du Chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 3 vols. (Lille, 1896-9), i. 93; see also Victor Derode, *Histoire de Lille et de la Flandre Wallonne*, 4 vols. (Lille, 1877; repr. Marseille, 1975), i. 190.

excavations carried out in 1833 and 1963,[6] it is apparent that St Pierre underwent four main phases of construction and development, ranging over a large time span, as well as numerous minor additions and interior developments.[7] The Romanesque *collégiale* built by Baudouin existed until 1215, before being transformed into a Gothic building, housing a new choir on which work began in 1235. Following a fire in 1354, the *collégiale* was reconstructed and remained thus until it was further developed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1793 it was sold at auction and by 1799 had been completely demolished, another victim of the French Revolution.[8] All that remains today is a small plaque on the side of a building in the *Place du Concert*, depicting a plan of the church and bearing the following inscription: 'Ici existait la célèbre collégiale de Saint Pierre construite en 1066 démolie en 1793' (see figure 1.1):

Figure 1.1: Plaque indicating the site of the thirteenth-century *collégiale* of St Pierre

[6] For detailed reports of the archaeological findings, see Philippe Jessu, 'Rapport sur les Fouilles Exécutées à Lille à l'Emplacement de l'Ancienne Collégiale Saint-Pierre (Avril-Juillet 1966)', *Revue du Nord*, tome xlviii. no. 191 (Oct – Dec 1966), 598-600.
[7] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 16.
[8] Pierre Leman, 'Collégiale St-Pierre et sa Cryte', *Pévèle et Mélantois Conférence de M. Pierre Leman* (Lille, 1967), 2.

During Adam's time as part of the community at St Pierre, the *collégiale* occupied a dominant position within the town of Lille, both in terms of its physical location and its influence. As indicated in figure 1.2, the *collégiale* was bordered by a wall on its north and west sides.[9]

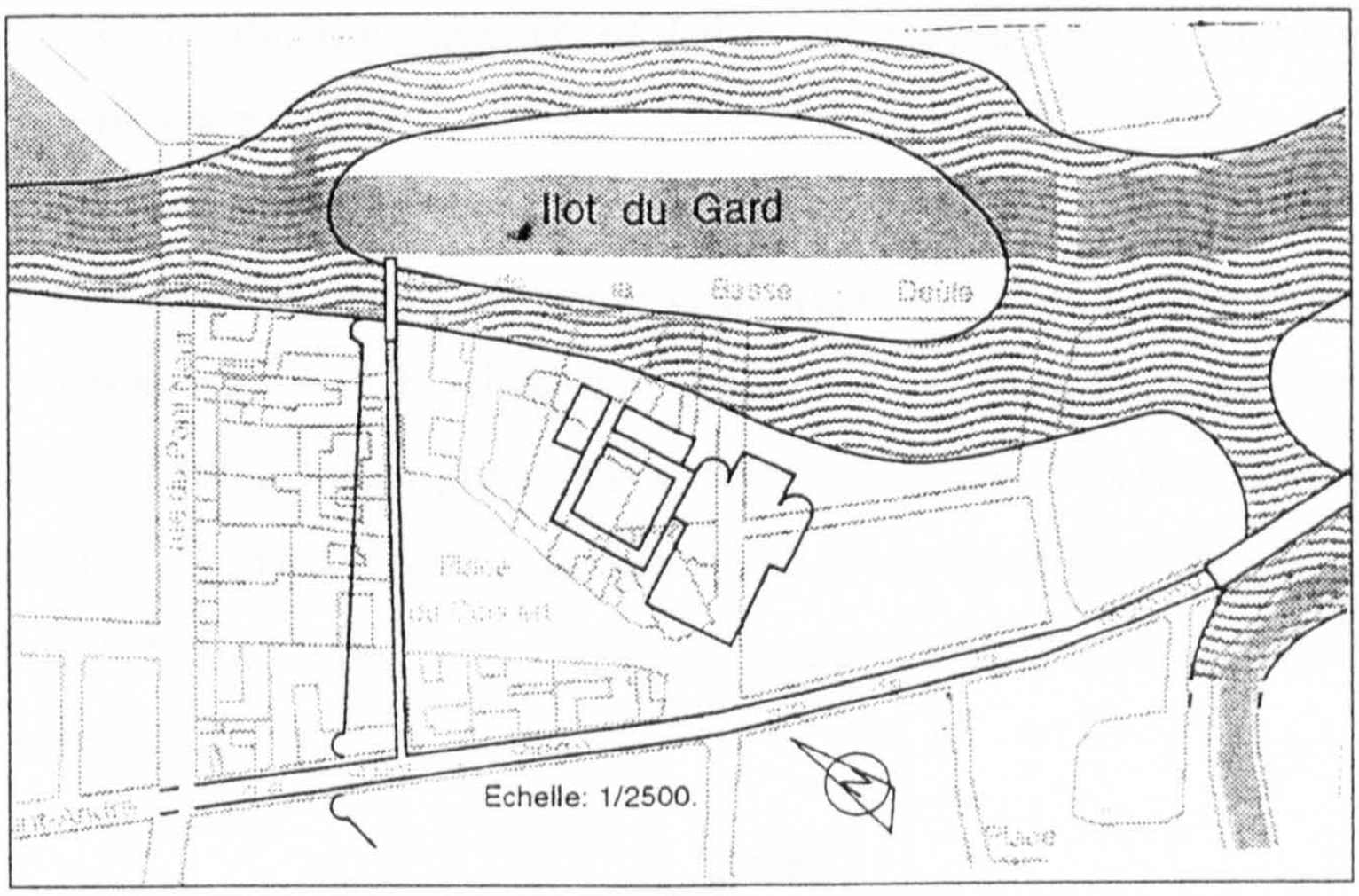

Figure 1.2: Plan of the *collégiale* of St Pierre in the thirteenth century

Reproduced from Jean-Denis Clabaut, *Les Caves Médiévales de Lille* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2001), 123

The church itself was situated facing the *Rue d'Angleterre*, perpendicular to *Rue Saint-Pierre*, orientated from west to east. To its right, between the church and the *Palais de la Salle*, extended the cemetery, whilst to its left, an enclosed gallery encircled a rectangular court supported on one side by the church and surrounded by the cloistral buildings.[10] Originally including a refectory and communal dormitory, these buildings fell out of use by 1190 and were replaced by individual houses built within the enclosure of the *collégiale* in which the canons lived,[11] meeting together each day for the reading of the Chapter and the singing of the Offices. Further out from the cloister, towards the river, were situated the treasury and the schools.[12] Also adjacent to the church was a hospital, founded in 1237 by the Countess Jeanne.[13] Consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, it was originally named the *Hôpital Notre Dame*, although later it became the *Hôpital Comtess* in memory of its founder. The hospital was established to care for the sick poor and its administration was

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[9] Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 25-6.
[10] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 14.
[11] Chatelet et al., *Histoire de Lille*, 353.
[12] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 14.
[13] This is where the current *Place du Concert* is located.

entrusted to the chapter of St Pierre.[14] This complex of buildings owned by the *collégiale* also included a theatre, providing entertainment for the canons and the townspeople.[15] Together, all these buildings formed an enclosure, entered via two gates: the first, in the *Rue Saint-Pierre* and the second, at the extremity of the south-east side, towards the river. With its central position and numerous amenities, the *collégiale* of St Pierre was at the heart of daily life for the townspeople of Lille and served an important role in many aspects of their existence.

The church of St Pierre was created with ritual and music in mind. By the end of the thirteenth century, around the time that Adam was writing the *Ludus*, the choir had been redesigned and rebuilt with grand proportions, enabling its ceremonies to be enacted with great majesty.[16] Situated at the entrance of the choir was the *ambon*, a platform from which the Gradual would have been sung, as would the Epistle and Gospel on days of double feasts (see figure 1.3).[17]

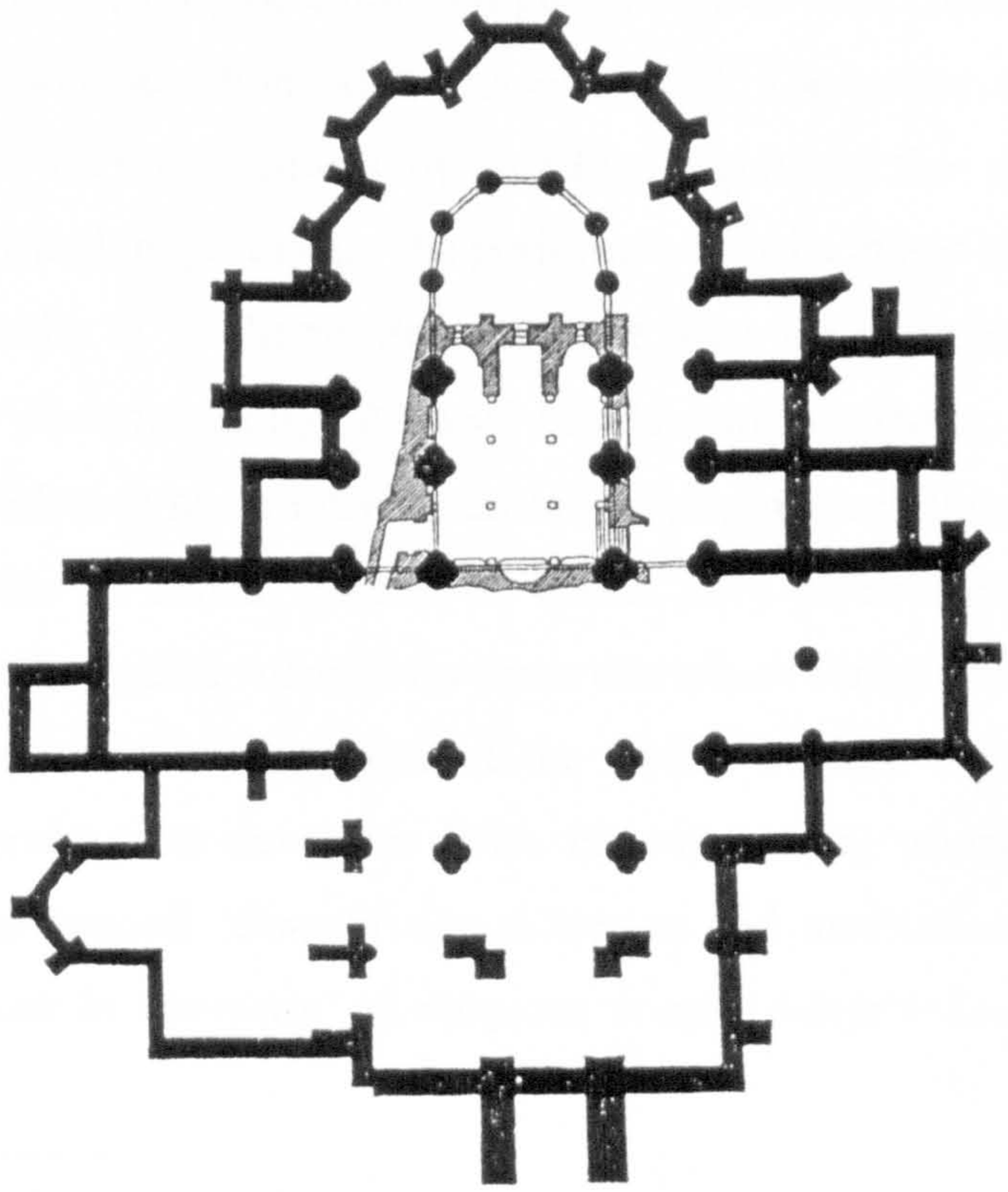

Figure 1.3: Plan of the church of St Pierre at the beginning of the fourteenth century

Reproduced from Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, ii. planche ix

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[14] Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 55
[15] Leman, 'Collégiale St-Pierre', 3.
[16] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 415.
[17] Ibid., 416.

In the vast enclosure of the choir, on the right and left, were three ranks of seats: the canons occupied the highest stalls, whilst the chaplains, cantors and clerics of all categories sat in the lower seats.[18] At the eastern end of the church, behind the altar, was a *chevet* (apse) from which radiated five chapels covered by a Gothic arch and high, vaulted ceilings,[19] linked by an ambulatory, a covered passage around which a number of processions took place. Aside from the main altar, there were two others situated in the presbytery. The first of these was consecrated to the Virgin Mary and it was here that the daily mass of *Salve* and the little Office of the Virgin were sung.[20] The other altar, dedicated to St John the Baptist, was the location for the observance of funeral masses and commemorations of various founders of the *collégiale*.[21]

The rebuilding of the church, with its newly-designed grand choir, reflects a desire to facilitate the daily celebration of the liturgy with majesty and splendour. Begun in 1235, the construction of the choir continued into the second half of the thirteenth century. In 1283, the *Ordinaire*[22] mentions a procession 'propter introitum novi chori' (on account of the opening of the new choir) which marks its inauguration.[23] The beauty of the new choir, designed to elevate the rites and rituals of worship, highlights the centrality of the observance of the liturgy and, in particular, the performance of its music to the lives of the members of the community at St Pierre. Several years after the completion of the new choir, Adam set about 're-constructing' Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, emphasising its Christian elements and infusing its narrative framework with musical items offering praise and worship to a number of saints, several of whom have particular relevance to St Pierre.[24] In his design of the *Ludus*, Adam drew upon that which surrounded him on a daily basis, seeking to recreate within the pages of the *Ludus* a place in which could be performed an act of praise and devotion. With its overarching allegorical structure, encompassing numerous musical 'chapels' for reflection and meditation and 'altars' at which worship is offered in the form of religious songs, Adam's *Ludus* mirrors the

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[18] Ibid.
[19] These architectural features exhibit a number of similarities with the Cathedral of Soissons whose choir was finished around 1212. This design was imitated during the course of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries by numerous constructors. See, for instance, the *collégiale* of Uzeste, the cathedrals of Bayonne and Oloron, and of Tournai and Utrecht. For more information, see Chatelet et al., *Histoire de Lille*, 430.
[20] On this altar was the statue of Notre Dame de la Treille, which will be discussed below.
[21] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 416.
[22] Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564; for more information on this manuscript, see below, 42-3.
[23] Chatelet et al., *Histoire de Lille*, 431.
[24] This will be discussed in more detail below.

recently-constructed choir, sharing its creative impetus to enhance the devotion of the canons of St Pierre.[25]

St Pierre was evidently a thriving and vibrant community which exerted a significant influence on the lives of the residents of Lille. As a collegiate church rather than a monastery, its inhabitants would have had a great deal of contact with the ordinary townspeople of Lille, playing integral roles within many aspects of town life. With its hospital, church, theatre and schools, both sacred and secular cultures co-existed at St Pierre, intermingling and informing each other. St Pierre also fulfilled the dual functions of edification and entertainment within the community; its schools earned St Pierre a reputation for education of the highest quality whilst, with its theatre, the *collégiale* would have been a central focus for entertainment and social activity within the town. Whilst very little is known about the theatre at St Pierre, its presence indicates an interest in, and familiarity with, the dramatic arts and suggests a tradition of performance within the community. Details on what would have been performed here do not survive but it raises the possibility that some, if not all, of Adam's *Ludus* could have been presented on its stage, offering amusement and moral instruction for the canons and wider community.

These cross-cultural contexts clearly influenced Adam in his conception of the *Ludus* on several levels. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the two strands of sacred and secular, representing the dual nature of the Perfect Man as both human and divine, are woven throughout the *Ludus*' narrative, echoed in its allegory and reflected in its diversity of insertions drawn from the liturgy and the corpus of trouvère chansons. Similarly, the *Ludus* utilises the twofold role of music to entertain and educate in order to create a work which offers both to amuse and to edify its audience.[26] Situated at the centre of the town, the *collégiale* was the natural heart of Lille and, due to its diverse mission of care, entertainment, education and spiritual guidance, was well-placed to influence the physical, intellectual and spiritual wellbeing of its many inhabitants, as well as those within its community. This desire to offer aid and guidance for many different aspects of life is reflected throughout the *Ludus* and its insertions, shaping its central purpose and function.

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[25] The influence of the liturgy upon the *Ludus* is discussed at length in Chapter 5.
[26] This is discussed in Chapter 6.

II: Collegiate Life and Worship at St Pierre

When reading the *Ludus*, interpreting its allegory and examining its musical insertions, it is evident that it is the product of a religious man, acutely aware of the life of the spirit, with an intimate understanding of the contents and workings of the liturgy and Scripture. Living and working within a clerical community, it is no surprise that Adam created a work full of biblical and liturgical allusions, which would have been recognisable to all those involved with the church.[27] In addition to these ecclesiastical allusions, Adam interlaces throughout the *Ludus* specific references to, and evocations of, the traditions, conventions and practices of the *collégiale* within which and for whom it was created. In his literary and musical creation, Adam derives much of its network of meaning from the workings and observances of the liturgy of St Pierre, and thus an understanding of this community and its systems of worship is necessary for a full appreciation of the *Ludus*.

By the thirteenth century, the chapter of St Pierre consisted of forty canons under the authority of the provost, as well as numerous chaplains, clerics and the children of the choir. In addition, the community employed a cantor who directed the music and governed matters concerning the celebration of the Offices, an *écolâtre* (school master) who directed the schools, and a treasurer whose responsibilities included guarding the liturgical ornaments, sacred vessels and relics, maintaining the church's property and ensuring the functioning of the church bells.[28] Although not a monastic community, the members of St Pierre would have been involved in many of the same activities, with ritual and meditation forming the framework of their daily lives. As in a monastery, Adam and his fellow canons would have met together daily to hear a chapter from the rule of their founder and to participate in regular hours of worship and prayer. Supplementing these liturgical duties, the canons' responsibilities also encompassed certain pastoral work. As noted above, at St Pierre the canons were involved in the administration of the *Hôpital Notre Dame* and would have spent time caring for the sick and offering hospitality to pilgrims. Repeatedly enjoined to 'teach by word and example',[29] the canons also played a significant role in the teaching and organisation of the schools affiliated to the church.

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[27] These will be the subject of Chapter 5.
[28] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 118.
[29] Caroline Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, 1979), 223.

Whilst no evidence exists to indicate specifically the tasks which occupied Adam, it is certain that his time would have been spent in activities of the body, in the form of manual labour or caring for the sick, activities of the mind, such as teaching and preaching as well as study, and activities of the soul, through meditation, prayer and worship. His routine would have been divided between tasks of 'sanctitatem et clericatum',[30] leading the life of a religious and singing the Divine Office combined with following the example of the Apostles and preaching, teaching and caring for the sick. These various facets of Adam's everyday existence, each representing a particular form of devotion and discipline, are imitated in a variety of ways throughout the *Ludus*. With its allegorical narrative concerned with the redemption of mankind from its sinful state, Adam's work is clearly didactic in intention, designed to communicate central Christian doctrine through a lively and imaginative narrative. Its musical insertions, many of which are derived from the central feasts of the liturgical calendar, map out the key tenets required for salvation.[31] Yet Adam is not merely concerned for his readers' souls. As discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Adam appears to select his inserted musical items for the effect they have on the well-being of the body, the emotions and the mind, bringing balance and wholeness to each one. In a reflection of his vocation, Adam offers in his *Ludus* nourishment for body, mind and spirit, designed to bring about healing and restoration to all those who read it.

Forming the structure for Adam's daily activities would have been the singing and reciting of the liturgy. The traditional rite used at St Pierre was that of Rome although, as in many churches, this was modified to some degree to reflect the particular character and traditions of the *collégiale*.[32] In addition to the daily round, the canons intoned the Mass of the Dead each day in the choir, at the end of Prime.[33] Another supplement to the liturgy at St Pierre was the little Office of the Virgin Mary,[34] reflecting a particular Marian devotion prevalent both within St Pierre and the town at large. During the Middle Ages, many

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[30] Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sermo* 355.6: *De Moribus Clericorum Sermo Primus*, in *PL*, xxxix. 1573: 'Sic et clericus duas res professus est, et sanctitatem, et clericatum: interim sanctitatem – nam clericatum per populum suum Deus imposuit cervicibus: magis onus est quam honor, sed "quis sapiens et intellegit haec?" (ps. 106.14) ergo professus est sanctitatem: professus est communiter vivendi societatem' (Thus he professed two things, both holiness and the clerical state, indeed it was holiness that he professed because God imposed the clerical state on his shoulders through the people. This is a greater burden than honour, but "if one is wise this will be understood?" Thus he professed sanctity, professed the community of living together), translation by Bynum, in *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, 223.

[31] See Chapter 5 for a detailed examination of this topic.

[32] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 404.

[33] Ibid., 407. The frequency of its celebration was necessary due to the number of foundations established at St Pierre.

[34] Ibid.

churches in Lille dedicated chapels to the Virgin Mary in commemoration of particular miracles. The earliest chapel was that of *Notre Dame d'Esquernes*, originating in the eleventh century following, as legend has it, the miraculous reconciliation of two enemies, which subsequently earned the Madonna the title *Notre Dame de Reconciliation.*[35] The chapel of *Notre Dame d'Ardents* was constructed in the *Grand Place*, and contained a candle dedicated to the Virgin, brought to Lille by Lambert de Guines, the first bishop of Arras.[36] Here, Mary was invoked against the fever and cures were effected through drinking water into which a drop of wax had been distilled. A third chapel was built in honour of the Virgin by Thierry d'Alsace (1128-1168) in the grounds of the *Palais de la Salle*. By 1238, the Countess Jeanne decreed that two chaplains should sing the canonical hours and celebrate a solemn Mass there daily.[37] This flowering of Marian piety, which inspired many of the townspeople and exerted a significant effect upon their devotional lives, was to reach its peak within St Pierre itself.

In 1254, St Pierre witnessed its own series of miracles involving a statue of the Virgin Mary which was held in the *collégiale*. This statue, known as *Notre Dame de la Treille*,[38] depicts the Virgin upon a throne and surrounded by a trellis, holding the infant Jesus on her left knee and a sceptre in her right hand. Created in the last quarter of the twelfth century, the statue was transferred to the *collégiale* between 1238 and 1254.[39] Following these miracles, a new altar was swiftly erected and a confraternity formed, pledging its devotion to the Virgin Mary.[40] Among the statue's reputed powers was its ability to heal the sick and restore children to life, as well as being considered particularly effective in the treatment of the possessed.[41] The townspeople of Lille also held that the statue afforded them protection, invoking it in the case of conflicts and epidemics.[42] In 1269, the Pontifical Legate granted indulgences to all pilgrims who visited the *collégiale* and its statue during the nine days following the second Sunday after Pentecost.[43] The

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[35] Chatelet et al., *Histoire de Lille*, 358.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] The name of this statue is frequently translated 'Our Lady of the Trellis' due to the wire trellis which surrounds it. However, Frédéric Vienne suggests that it is actually a corruption of Lille and is simply 'Our Lady of Lille'. For more on the origins of the statue's name, see Frédéric Vienne, *Notre-Dame de la Treille: Du Rêve à la Réalité: Histoire de la Cathédrale de Lille* (Marseille, 2002), 25.
[39] Ibid., 26.
[40] The chapel was built in the angle of the North arm of the transept of the twelfth century church and the new choir; see ibid., 27.
[41] Ibid., 26.
[42] Ibid., 27.
[43] Ibid.

number of pilgrims who flocked to Lille to pay their respects to the Virgin was so great that, in 1270, the Countess Marguerite instigated an annual procession around the town.[44] Over subsequent years, the procession increased in length and grandeur until its circular route encompassed the entire town. Bringing together worshippers from both the sacred and secular professions, it saw the parish priests and their chaplains, all the religious orders and the Chapter of St Pierre marching alongside the magistrate, the trade associations and the many pilgrims. This annual procession became an occasion of great celebration, uniting all the townspeople in an act of communal worship.

As a sick man himself, Adam would undoubtedly have been particularly attracted to the legends surrounding *Notre Dame de la Treille*, perhaps beseeching the statue for divine healing from his illness, and this devotion to Mary is reflected in the *Ludus* through a number of textual and musical references. On reaching the court of heaven, as Prudence passes by the assembled saints, she hears the voices of heaven and earth unite to sing praise to the Virgin Mary. At first puzzled by their claims that she is both a virgin and a mother, Prudence is disbelieving.[45] Yet, when offered proof in the form of Christ's miracles,[46] she is then 'converted' to the cult of the Mother of God, at which point she hears Adam's voice rising from earth, worshipping Mary with a musical offering (no. 85). Praising Mary as a 'harbour for the faithful'[47] and a 'fruitful mother to the destitute',[48] Adam's song describes her 'deeds of inextinguishable love',[49] perhaps referring to the many miracles seen at St Pierre. In the presence of God, Prudence, who cannot bear the brilliance, falls into a lethargy from which she is revived by Faith.[50] Having recovered, her first priority is to pray to the Virgin for the sick and the afflicted,[51] as did the faithful at St Pierre. On her return journey, Prudence praises the Virgin Mary with a sequence, performed alternately with Faith (no. 106).[52] In the second section, she is worshipped with

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[44] Ibid.
[45] *Ludus*, 89, *84*, stanza 1: 'Conscendit ad Virginem Fronesis beatam; quam videt cælicolis omnibus prælatam, auditque hanc publice virginem vocatam et matrem, ac omnium vocibus laudatam' (Prudence ascended to the Virgin Mary, whom she saw lifted up in all the heavens, she heard her being called virgin and mother and praised by all voices).
[46] Ibid., 91, *87*: 'Persuaso facta Fronesi ad credendum partum beatæ Virginis, per miracula Jesu Christi' (Prudence is persuaded to believe about the virgin birth through the miracle of Jesus Christ).
[47] Ibid., 90, *85*, stanza 5: 'portus in fide stabilis'.
[48] Ibid.: 'tu egenis matrona fertilis'.
[49] Ibid., stanza 4: 'de qua narrantur opera caritatis inexstinguibilis'.
[50] Ibid., 94-5, *89*.
[51] Ibid., 99, *94*.
[52] Ibid., 109-10.

an Alleluia sung by Piety (no. 141) in which, in an allusion to the *Notre Dame de Reconciliation*, she is praised as 'reconciliation to the Lord of glory'.[53]

The Virgin Mary was by no means alone in being venerated with great solemnity at St Pierre. From the thirteenth century, the feasts of the saints occupied an important place in its liturgy. A calendar located at the beginning of the *Ordinaire* of St Pierre indicates 190 individual saints' days celebrated at Lille.[54] Alongside those saints worshipped throughout France are others particular to St Pierre and the surrounding regions. Feast days of Saints Julian, Hippolyte, Quentin and Barbe were all instituted at the *collégiale* due to particular foundations,[55] whilst Saints Bernard and Robert of Citeaux were honoured in remembrance of the relation of the Cistercian order with Lille. Saints Eubert, Piat, Martin, Denys, André and Mary Magdalene had the honour of a solemn octave, as did the feast of St Pierre de Liens.[56] As patron of Lille and apostle of the region, St Eubert was honoured with a procession in which his shrine was paraded around the town. In addition to the relics of St Eubert (his entire body, which was acquired in 1065 from the canons of Seclin), the *collégiale* also held the arm of St Donat and that of St Macaire, numerous bones of the 11,000 Virgins (obtained at Cologne in 1260), a link of the chain of St Peter and one of his bones, the 'Precious Milk' and the hair of the Virgin Mary, and a fragment of the True Cross.[57] All of these relics were preserved within lavishly decorated shrines, which were uncovered and processed around the church or town on the occasion of the saints' feast day.

Several of the saints to be particularly fêted at St Pierre are similarly honoured within the pages of the *Ludus*, furthering its ties with the *collégiale*. In the first section of the *Ludus*, as Prudence arrives in heaven, she greets the saints assembled there who are grouped according to their class, e.g. Virgins, Confessors, Martyrs etc. Within each class, two saints are singled out for particular mention, according to their deeds. Among these are St Martin (worshipped at St Pierre with an octave) who is praised for using half his cloak to clothe a poor man,[58] and St Laurence (to whom an altar was dedicated in the crypt of the

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[53] Ibid., 136: 'reos Domino gloriæ reconcilia'.
[54] Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564; see also Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 430.
[55] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 431.
[56] Ibid., 433.
[57] This last relic is today held at St Etienne at Lille; see Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 434.
[58] *Ludus*, 78, *69a*, stanza 2: 'Ave qui partem pallii scidisti / de qua repertum pauperem vestisti' (Hail, you who divided your cloak, with part of which you clothed the poor man you found).

church) who is glorified as a brave and faithful martyr.[59] Unlike the saints which precede her, Mary Magdalene, held in great honour in Lille, is venerated singly for her 'true contrition' and 'loving devotion',[60] with a *unica*.[61] Also honoured individually are two saints of especial relevance to St Pierre, who are distinguished with musical insertions designed specifically to emphasise their significance both to Adam and to the collegiate community.[62] The first of these is St Elizabeth of Hungary, venerated highly at St Pierre,[63] who is praised within the *Ludus* with an elaborate responsory modelled on an item derived from the Office of St Elizabeth as sung at St Pierre.[64] St Peter, patron of the *collégiale*, is similarly praised with an ornate musical insertion in which he is glorified for having earned the 'heavenly key' and for his escape from the chains of imprisonment,[65] events which were both commemorated with specific festivals at St Pierre. This lengthy musical item, sung solely to St Peter, is a fitting sign of Adam's dedication to this saint and strengthens the bond between the *Ludus* and the community within which it was produced.

When composing his work, Adam drew upon that which he knew best and which occupied the majority of his time. Influenced by the events and activities that occurred around him, the *Ludus* offers a clear reflection of the life of a thirteenth century cleric in France. In embellishing his allegorical narrative and in selecting his musical insertions, Adam was inspired by the liturgy and ritual with which he was surrounded. The first section, set in heaven, is clearly derived from Adam's experience of singing the Office of the Saints, with its particular emphases upon saints of local relevance. Similarly, the role attributed to the Virgin Mary in the *Ludus*, as healer, protector and mediator, reflects the numerous local legends regarding her miraculous interventions at St Pierre. Adam's daily experience of meditation and study shapes the way in which he designed the *Ludus*, incorporating material for contemplation and reflection, within which its musical insertions function as a 'gloss' upon the main narrative. Similarly, he draws upon the dual tradition of worship and education prevalent at St Pierre. As will be explored in subsequent chapters, the *Ludus* functions as a devotional guide, leading its readers through a series of religious 'meditations' and presenting material for worship. With its allegorical narrative which

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[59] Ibid., 79, *71a*, stanza 3: 'Ave rex pugilum martyrque fortior' (Hail, king of fighters and martyr most brave).
[60] Ibid., 82, *75*.
[61] For more information on this musical insertion, see Chapter 3, 127-9.
[62] These are examined in detail in Chapter 3, 122-7; 165-8.
[63] For more details about Saint Elizabeth, see Jacobus Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), ii. 302-318.
[64] This item will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3.
[65] *Ludus*, 80, *73*.

outlines the central tenets of Christianity, focussing especially on the issues of sin and redemption, its function is clearly didactic, offering its audience entertainment whilst educating them regarding the necessity of salvation.

III: Musical, Literary and Intellectual Culture in Lille

The influence of liturgy, Scripture and religious observance is evident when reading the *Ludus*. But there are other aspects of its nature which indicate that Adam also sought inspiration beyond the church of St Pierre, turning instead to contemporary intellectual and creative culture, both at the *collégiale* itself and in the surrounding town. Thirteenth-century Lille was a vibrant town in terms of the literature and music being produced and Adam's work exhibits various connections with contemporaneous artistic currents prevalent within the town. Home to a variety of poets, writers and composers, and situated in the vicinity of a number of lively centres of musical and poetic activity, Lille fostered a secular, creative culture of literature and music which existed side-by-side with the sacred culture of the church. For Adam, this provided another sphere of resonance upon which to draw. Through his musical insertions and popular references, Adam engaged with contemporary culture outside the confines of the church at St Pierre, adding a further dimension to his work.

Thirteenth-century Lille possessed a dynamic musical culture that was cultivated by a number of guilds or brotherhoods of composers and poets. Like the towns of Amiens and Valenciennes, Lille had a confraternity known as the *Puy Notre Dame*.[66] Each year, an assembly held in the Alderman's Hall awarded prizes for the authors of the best verses composed in honour of the Virgin Mary, as well as for the best *ballades* and *jeux partis*.[67] Due to the proximity of towns such as Arras, Tournai and Cambrai, Lille would have been host to numerous trouvères and jongleurs performing the latest songs and poetry in the market place and, perhaps, at the *collégiale*. Indeed, all but one of the trouvère chansons employed by Adam in the *Ludus* are derived from the repertories of trouvères who lived no more than thirty miles from Lille, suggesting they were selected by merit of their proximity

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[66] Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 78; see also Kay Brainerd Slocum, 'Confrérie, Bruderschaft and Guild: The Formation of Musicians' Fraternal Organisations in Thirteenth-Century and Fourteenth-Century Europe', *Early Music History*, 14 (1995), 257-74.

[67] The head of the confraternity, elected each year, was named the prince of the *puy*, earning himself the dubious honour of covering all the expenses and supplying the various prizes: see Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 78.

and popularity.[68] A number of trouvères are known to have lived and worked in Lille itself, although almost all of their work is now lost. Of the few examples that survive we find a couplet written by the poet Marie de Dergnau, several *chansons d'amour* of Pierre le Borgne and a number of poems and chansons belonging to Jean Fremaux, known as 'le couronné' due to his success in various poetic competitions.[69] With trouvères gathering at Lille and at the various other *puys* and confraternities in the nearby towns, Adam had at his disposal a wealth of secular music upon which to draw. Perhaps encountering some of his chosen songs at a gathering of the *puy*, it is also likely that, on occasion, the clerics at St Pierre would have been entertained by travelling jongleurs performing popular songs. In selecting the musical models for his *contrafacta*, Adam looked not only to the liturgy but included examples of contemporary secular music, thereby widening the scope of his intertextual references. The citation of these songs within his narrative enabled Adam to engage with another repertory with its associated traditions and conventions, opening up new, often allegorical, methods of exploring his themes.[70]

Adam was not alone in experimenting with the employment of contemporary music within a narrative framework.[71] Among the works produced in the Arras region around the time of the *Ludus*' writing, a large number exhibit a fascination with combining lyric and narrative components.[72] Produced within Lille itself is Jacquemars Giélée's *Renart le Nouvel*,[73] a work which concludes a cycle of satiric poems concerning Renart the fox and his feud with Noble the lion, parodying the tension between feudality and royalty. A contemporary of Adam, Jacquemars was a bourgeois poet and author who lived in *Rue d'Angleterre* in a house owned by the *collégiale*.[74] *Renart le Nouvel* was composed in 1288, several years after Adam completed the *Ludus*, and contains a number of refrains interleaved into its narrative structure.[75] As both Adam and Jacquemars were living and

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[68] For further information on the trouvères whose songs are employed in the *Ludus*, see Chapter 3, 95-6.
[69] Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 59.
[70] The relationship of the themes of the secular' trouvère chansons to Adam's sacred narrative is explored in Chapter 4.
[71] The musical and literary tradition of the Arras area is examined in detail in Chapter 7.
[72] These include works such as Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, ed. Kenneth Varty (London, 1960); Jacques Bretel's *Le Tournai de Chauvency*, ed. Maurice Debouille (Paris, 1932); *La Court de Paradis*, ed. Eva Vilamo-Pentti (Helsinki, 1953); and the anonymous continuation of Mahieu le Poirier's *La Court d'Amours*, ed. Terence Scully (Waterloo, Ontario, 1976). For a detailed examination of the relationships between these works, see Ardis Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies*, 105-159.
[73] Jacquemars Giélée, *Renart le Nouvel: Publié d'après le Manuscrit La Vallière, B.N. fr. 25566*, ed. Henri Roussel (Paris, 1961).
[74] Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, 59.
[75] Butterfield, 'Refrain', 114.

working in Lille at the same time, it is quite possible that they had personal and literary connections, perhaps sharing ideas and compositional techniques. Like the *Ludus*, the narrative of *Renart* is an allegorical representation of the battle between good and evil, enacted by symbolic characters and interspersed with snippets of music which enhance and expound its themes. Although expressed in a different format, with the religious narrative of the *Ludus* contrasting sharply with the satiric, political narrative of *Renart*, both works are primarily concerned with the exploration of themes of morality, sin and justice. For Adam, this repertory of experimental Arras works would have revealed new possibilities in the use of text and music, perhaps suggesting fresh compositional directions to explore. In his composition of the *Ludus*, which evokes music and literature from both sacred and profane repertories, Adam encapsulates something of the cultural spirit of Lille at that time and exploits the wealth of musical and literary material available to him through the church and the town.

St Pierre was not merely a place of worship but, with its renowned schools, was a site of learning and intellectual advancement which played host to a number of influential thinkers and teachers. This emphasis upon learning and instruction, combined with a strong tradition of moralistic writing, is echoed in the didactic nature of the *Ludus*. From its foundation, St. Pierre was a thriving centre of intellectual activity, with its schools attracting a number of famous teachers.[76] St Pierre rapidly gained a reputation for the skill of its masters, appealing to other scholars who attended the schools either to study or to teach. Throughout the schools' existence, the matter of who was to be employed to teach within the cloister was of the utmost importance to the canons.[77] Among the masters they secured are a number of influential figures and established scholars who brought with them to St Pierre their knowledge in a variety of different fields. One such man was master Clement, originally from Lille, who had previously studied and then taught the Liberal Arts at Paris. By 1205, Clement had become a canon of St Pierre and was appointed as the *écolâtre* in charge of the running of the schools.[78] Also to teach at St Pierre was Lietbert, who later became Abbot of St Ruf. His principal extant work is a vast commentary on the

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[76] Among the various names recorded are found Raimbert, a Nominalist, who taught philosophy, and Odon, a Realist, both at Lille during the last years of the eleventh century. The presence of these esteemed masters at Lille resulted in many, often heated, philosophical debates, which drew students and clerics from the surrounding areas who flocked to hear their teaching: see Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 56; also Derode, *Histoire du Lille*, 284.
[77] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 59.
[78] Ibid.

psalms, entitled *Flores Psalmorum*.[79] A great number of these manuscripts exist in France, Belgium and England and the library of Lille possesses a particularly beautiful copy which originates from St. Pierre.[80]

Perhaps the most famous theologian and philosopher to teach at St Pierre was the 'doctor universalis', Alan of Lille. Having spent the greater part of his career at Paris, as well as teaching for some time at Montpellier,[81] Alan entered the Cistercian order in his old age and died at Cîteaux in 1202 or 1203.[82] Although ranging widely in subject-matter and emphasis, his writings share a similar concern with the relation between nature and the divine.[83] Like Adam's *Ludus*, the majority of Alan's works are characterised by a didactic quality, expressed particularly clearly in his treatise on preaching (*Summa de Arte Praedicatoria*)[84] and his penitential manual (*Liber Poenitentales*).[85] The best known of all his writings are the *De Planctu Naturae*,[86] a satire on human vices, and the *Anticlaudianus* upon which the *Ludus* is based.[87] As its title suggests, Alan's *De Planctu Naturae*, a Boethian dialogue between the poet-narrator and the goddess Nature, centres on Nature's complaint of the 'perversion' that has corrupted human speech, social customs and sexuality, thus robbing mankind of its proper place within Nature's realm. In answer to this complaint, the *Anticlaudianus*, like the *Ludus*, describes the creation of a Perfect Man who is without sin, designed to conquer the Vices and reinstate the Golden Age. As a teacher and preacher, Alan's chief concern was the cure of souls, reflected in his attempt to expound the teaching of the Church. Clearly, Adam was greatly influenced by the writings of Alan and, in the *Ludus*, captures his desire to guide the Christian soul towards salvation.

The existence of these esteemed masters at the *collégiale* seems to have awoken within the community a thirst for greater knowledge and education. During the thirteenth century, a growing number of priests at St Pierre expressed a desire to return to the universities in order to further their studies but were prevented from doing so due to their priestly prebends and obligation of residence. As a result, in 1264 the Chapter requested a

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[79] For more information on this manuscript, see below, 40.
[80] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 68-9.
[81] It seems that Alan taught at the University of Paris between 1157 and 1170 and then at Montpellier from *c.* 1171-1185: see Winthrop Wetherbee, 'Alan of Lille', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Strayer, i. 119.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] See *PL*, ccx. 111-198.
[85] Ibid., 281-304.
[86] Ibid., 431-482.
[87] *De Planctu Naturae* was written from 1160-1175 and the *Anticlaudianus* from 1182-3.

dispensation from the Pope, Urbain IV, who authorised the canons to allow three priests to return to university, with the consent of the provost, whilst receiving money from their prebends for three years.[88] Whether Adam was among these priests attending university is not clear, but it is certain that, by the thirteenth century, St Pierre was a learned community with a reputation for intellectual activity and teaching of the highest calibre. It is within this context that Adam found inspiration for his composition of the *Ludus*. Through the philosophical themes of his work, Adam explores many of the topics being debated in the schools at that time, regarding the nature of sin, the possibility of redemption, the composition of the earth and heavens, and the moral and spiritual power of music.[89] Evoking the teaching of previous masters at St Pierre, the *Ludus* addresses themes of love, forgiveness and knowledge of God within a work of depth and great complexity designed to be appreciated by a community of educated and enquiring clerics.

Uniting the various works being produced in and around St Pierre is a discernable tradition of educative and edifying writing, characterised by an exploration of a number of philosophical and moralistic themes. In writing the *Ludus*, Adam follows in this tradition as he seeks to explore the issues of sin and salvation, the place of mankind within the universe and the relationship between humanity and God. Drawing on this moralistic heritage, Adam writes in a didactic manner, examining various philosophical ideas and teachings and seeking to provide a framework offering instruction for a journey of self knowledge. The *Ludus*' moralistic nature is revealed all the more clearly when viewed through the filter of the other contents of the manuscript in which it is copied. Following the *Ludus*, which occupies the majority of the manuscript (fols. 1-42), are three other poems, much shorter than the *Ludus* and without any musical insertions. Codicological examination reveals that they were all bound together at the same time and that the hand which made the corrections and additions to the *Ludus* is the same as that which copied the final poem into the manuscript.[90] With their shared moralising themes, it seems certain that all four works were intended to be copied together from the beginning in an intentional programme of instructive writing.

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[88] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 191; see also Éduoard Hautcœur, *Cartulaire de l'Église Collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1894), i. 400, for the bull of 27th June 1264.
[89] See Chapter 6 for an exploration of the philosophical and cosmological themes examined in the *Ludus*.
[90] As previously noted, several scholars suggest that this is the hand of Adam himself, editing and revising his manuscript.

The first poem is entitled *Super 'Confiteor Deo omnipotenti'* (I will confess to the omnipotent God), occupies fols. 42va – 44rb and takes the form of a criminal's dream about confession. Whilst considering whether or not he should confess his crimes, four envoys of the Devil – Fear, Disgrace, Hypocrisy and Presumption (reminiscent of the personified Vices in the *Ludus*) – appear and persuade him to do nothing. The criminal is then summoned to appear before a tribunal of Justice and sentenced to hell. Terrified of his conviction, he appeals to Mercy and is given a respite to make his confession to the priest, God, the Virgin and all the saints, in an episode which strongly recalls Prudence before the assembly of saints in heaven. Mercy receives this deposition of witnesses which, having heard his confession, affirms the innocence of the penitent who is then acquitted.[91]

The second poem, which occupies fols. 44rb – 46va, is *Super 'Nullum malum impunitum, nullum bonum irremunertum'* (No bad deed goes unpunished, no good deed is unrewarded). This shares a similar theme with the previous poem but is more philosophical in character, concerned with the nature of evil. It tells of two hermits who live like saints in the desert. One dies in terrible suffering whilst the other is brought to the bed of a usurer to witness him die a peaceful death without wishing to repent.[92] The surviving hermit, resentful of his vocation, questions the wisdom of serving God if a man who has sinned without remorse throughout his life can die a painless and peaceful death. An angel appears to him and explains why Providence distributes good and bad in this life in a seemingly strange manner: the usurer's death was sweet because of some alms he had given, whereas the hermit suffered to atone for mistakes of weakness. Yet, she reassures him, the hermit entered straight to heaven whilst the usurer is in hell.[93] The final poem is entitled *Super 'Proximus ille Domino est qui scit ratione tacere'* (He who is nearest to God is he who knows when to be quiet), and is copied into the manuscript on fols. 46va – 47v. It tells of a rich man approaching the end of his life, who wonders to which of his three sons he should leave his fortune. In an attempt to decide, he poses them a riddle, asking if they could become birds, which bird would they choose to be. The first says an eagle and

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[91] See Bayart, *Ludus*, x-xi.

[92] A similar theme appears in the musical item no. 125, sung by Justice, which consists of numerous complaints against injustice and corruption within the clergy. The second stanza contains a reference to a usurer who refuses to repent, banishing his confessor whilst on his deathbed: 'Cum absorbet mors usurarium / pœnitere frequenter negligit / et ad certum mentis indicium / confessorem quandoque abigit' (Though death consumes the usurer, he often neglects to repent; and as a sure sign of his state of mind he banishes the confessor), providing further links between the *Ludus* and these moralising poems and strengthening the theory that all the texts copied into the *Ludus* manuscript are the work of Adam.

[93] Bayart, *Ludus*, xi.

the second a starling. The third replies that he would choose to become a crane as they are silent, and it is he who is chosen to inherit.[94]

Taken as a collection, these three poems are reminiscent of popular preaching in the Middle Ages, with their fable-like plots from which is drawn a clear moral. It seems certain that these poems are the work of Adam, designed to operate in conjunction with the *Ludus*, forming an educational tool and a moral handbook for the community of St Pierre. Although less subtle and far simpler than the *Ludus*, the three poems draw out some of the *Ludus*' central themes, providing 'case studies' within which they may be discussed and studied further. After the complex symbolic narrative of the *Ludus*, these brief moralistic aphorisms summarise many of its teachings in a pithy and memorable format. With their allegorical stories, symbolic characterisation and clear moral teaching, the poems are strongly reminiscent of the *Ludus* and share its didactic tone. Exploring various questions regarding sin, death and the afterlife, forgiveness and faith, these poems – with the *Ludus* – combine to create a guide to virtue, an exemplar for Adam's fellow canons.

IV: The Library at St Pierre

In gathering the material for the *Ludus*, we have seen that Adam found inspiration in numerous aspects of his life: the forms and orders of worship which he celebrated daily, the music of the liturgy, the church in which he worshipped and, outside of St Pierre, the various literary and musical traditions of Lille in which sacred and secular culture were entwined. Further sources of inspiration open to Adam lay in the various manuscripts owned by the *collégiale*, which he and his colleagues would have read, utilised and studied, both for work and recreation. In the final section of this chapter, I wish to examine the surviving manuscripts of the library collection at St Pierre as it was during the time of the *Ludus*' creation. In so doing, I aim to assess the relationship between the *Ludus* and the other manuscripts held by the *collégiale* and highlight points of connection, with regard to common themes, ideas and stylistic characteristics. An overview of the contents of the library will reveal the topics which were of interest to the canons at St Pierre, the various ways in which texts were employed within their community and the types of works with which they would have been familiar, suggesting further ways of reading and understanding the *Ludus*.

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[94] Ibid.

St Pierre did not have its own library building until the beginning of the sixteenth century and so, until that time, the books, charters and bulls were all entrusted to the care of the treasurer. Despite this lack of a library to house its manuscripts, the *collégiale* possessed a collection of texts that was frequently enriched by the gifts of educated and wealthy men from neighbouring towns.[95] The manuscript collection grew significantly during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries and many of these valuable manuscripts have survived to this day, now housed at the Bibliothèque Municipale or Archives Municipale of Lille. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Chapter of St Pierre owned a great number of books of various styles and on numerous topics. Theological and moral or religious books sat alongside those concerned with the humanities and science, with Psalters and Antiphonaries sharing shelf space with the writings of Virgil, the *Papias* and the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.[96] Later still, this collection was augmented considerably and it is clear from the register of wills that the canons often bequeathed to the Chapter their own library, or at least some books and precious manuscripts.[97] For the purposes of this chapter, however, I wish to concentrate on those books which would have been available to Adam at the time he wrote the *Ludus*. Table 1.1 gives a complete list of all the surviving works from St Pierre held at the Bibliothèque Municipale. I will be concentrating on those that date from the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which I examined whilst visiting Lille.[98]

The oldest surviving manuscript from the Chapter of St Pierre is Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 211, a Latin Psalter which dates from the twelfth century. A small, neat and attractive manuscript,[99] it appears to have been designed for personal use, with much attention paid to its structure and layout. Its contents are clearly presented with no marginal or interlinear notations, suggesting that it was not a 'working' copy but an artefact, an object of beauty, perhaps originally presented as a gift. In addition to a series of decorated capitals in alternating blue, red and green ink, it contains a programme of illuminated capitals in which complete or half pages consist of a single illustrated capital preceding the first verse of the new psalm. These capitals are lavishly decorated, with many employing a

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[95] Derode, *Histoire de Lille*, 283.
[96] André J. G. le Glay, *Catalogue Descriptif des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lille* (Lille, 1848), vi.
[97] Ibid.
[98] These manuscripts are highlighted in red in the table.
[99] It measures 148 mm x 220 mm.

large amount of gold leaf (see figure 1.4).[100] Although this Psalter contains the psalms which would have been sung in the choir on a daily basis as part of the Office, at St Pierre (as elsewhere) the liturgy was sung mostly from memory without the need for books such as this.[101] Thus, it is far more likely to have been created as a devotional tool for an individual, providing material for personal prayer, praise and meditation. The presence of the illuminations within the manuscript confirms that this is a book designed to be appreciated visually rather than aurally, and used as an aid to contemplation in much the same way as the *Ludus*, with its musical insertions, offers material to inspire reflection and worship.

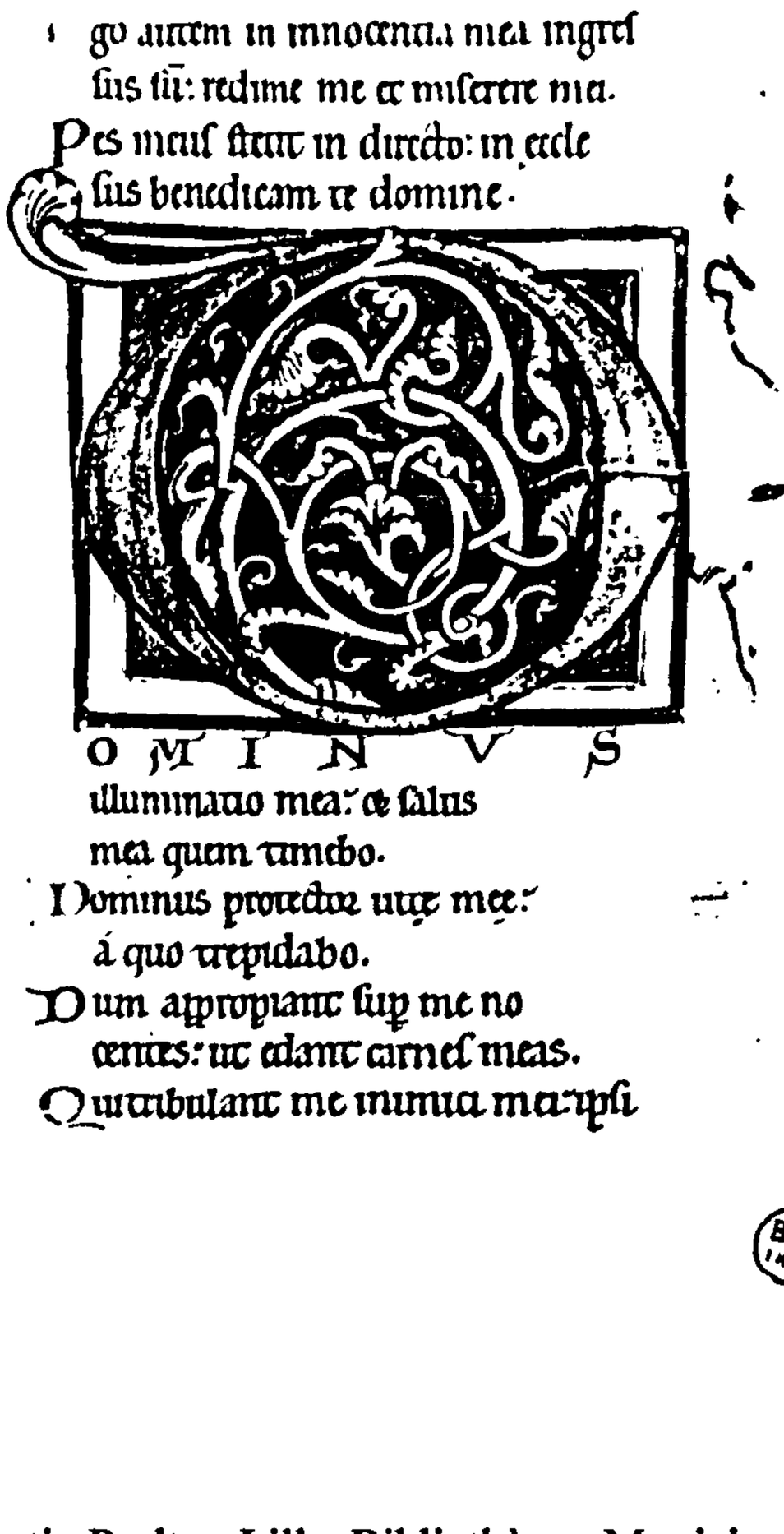
go autem in innocentia mea ingres
sus sū: redime me ꝛ miserere mi.
Pes meus stetit in directo: in eccle
sus benedicam te domine.
O MINVS
illuminatio mea: ꝛ salus
mea quem timebo.
Dominus protector uite mee:
á quo trepidabo.
Dum appropiant sup me no
centes: ut edant carnes meas.
Qui tribulant me inimici mi: ipsi

Figure 1.4: Latin Psalter, Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 211, fol. 22r

[100] Among these capitals are several which stand out for the detail and beauty of their illustrations, reflecting the effort expended in the creation of this manuscript. Fol. 46r consists of the letter Q, preceding the word 'quid', which encloses a picture of Christ seated on a stool with his hand raised in blessing. Fol. 47r contains the letter D (dixit) inside which is a figure wearing tunic and leggings and holding a curved stick, possibly a farming implement. Fol. 103v also depicts the letter D (dixit), but on this occasion it houses a detailed picture of St Nicholas, dressed as a bishop in mitre and robe and holding a shepherd's crook. He is seated and his right hand is raised in blessing.

[101] See Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 121. Whilst no music is given, each psalm concludes with letters signalling the correct psalm tones.

large amount of gold leaf (see figure 1.4).[100] Although this Psalter contains the psalms which would have been sung in the choir on a daily basis as part of the Office, at St Pierre (as elsewhere) the liturgy was sung mostly from memory without the need for books such as this.[101] Thus, it is far more likely to have been created as a devotional tool for an individual, providing material for personal prayer, praise and meditation. The presence of the illuminations within the manuscript confirms that this is a book designed to be appreciated visually rather than aurally, and used as an aid to contemplation in much the same way as the *Ludus*, with its musical insertions, offers material to inspire reflection and worship.

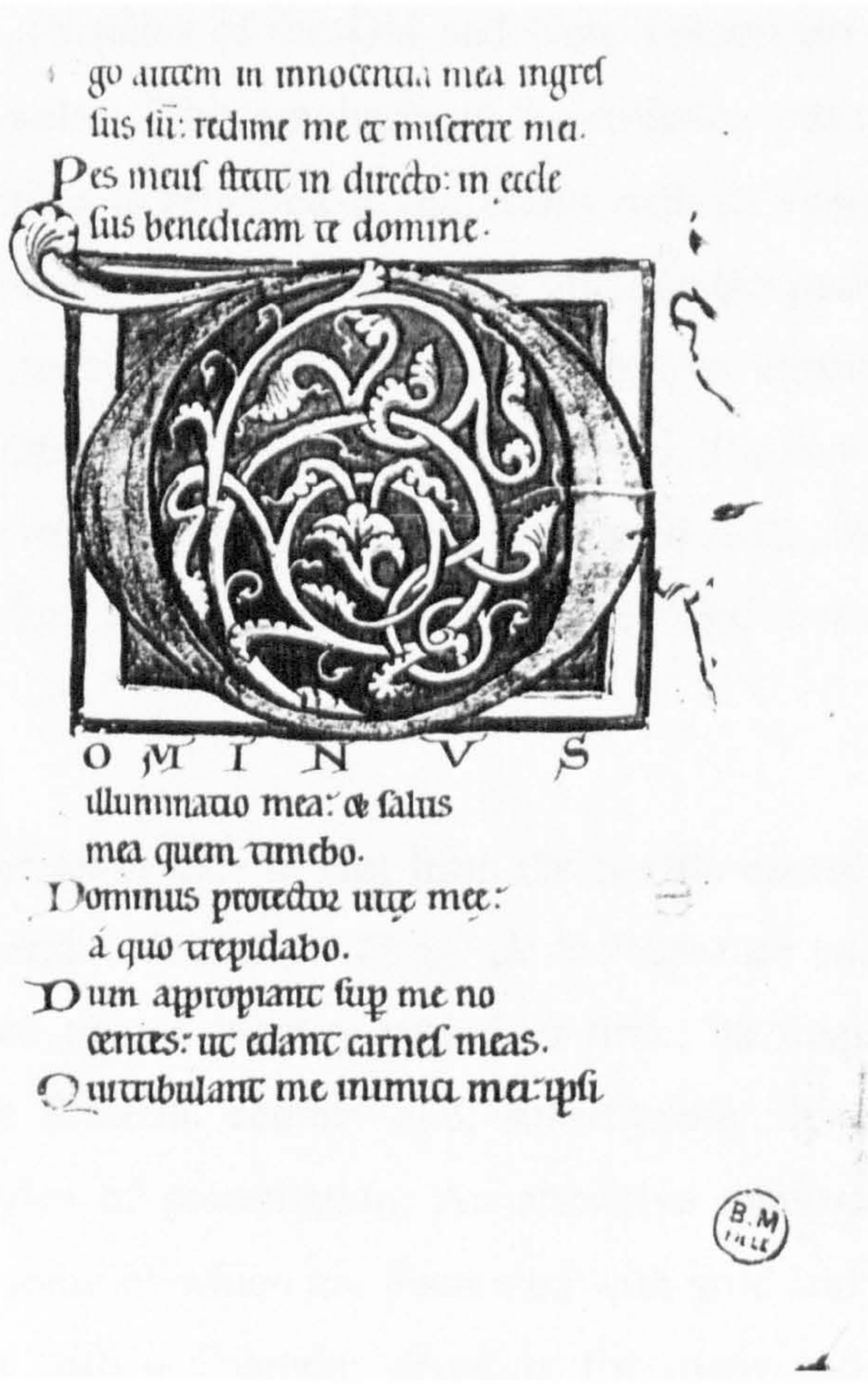
go autem in innocentia mea ingre
ſus ſū: redime me ꝛ miſerere mea.
Pes meus ſtetit in directo: in eccle
ſiis benedicam te domine.
O M I N V S
illuminatio mea: ⁊ ſalus
mea quem timebo.
Dominus protector uite mee:
à quo trepidabo.
Dum appropiant ſup me no
centes: ut edant carnes meas.
Qui tribulant me inimici mei: ipſi

Figure 1.4: Latin Psalter, Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 211, fol. 22r

[100] Among these capitals are several which stand out for the detail and beauty of their illustrations, reflecting the effort expended in the creation of this manuscript. Fol. 46r consists of the letter Q, preceding the word 'quid', which encloses a picture of Christ seated on a stool with his hand raised in blessing. Fol. 47r contains the letter D (dixit) inside which is a figure wearing tunic and leggings and holding a curved stick, possibly a farming implement. Fol. 103v also depicts the letter D (dixit), but on this occasion it houses a detailed picture of St Nicholas, dressed as a bishop in mitre and robe and holding a shepherd's crook. He is seated and his right hand is raised in blessing.

[101] See Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 121. Whilst no music is given, each psalm concludes with letters signalling the correct psalm tones.

Also dating from the twelfth century is Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 536-538, the *Flores Psalmorum* of Lietbert, abbot of Saint Ruf. Together, these three manuscripts consist of a vast and extremely detailed commentary on the psalms. The psalms themselves are not included in the manuscript, suggesting that these commentaries would have been used in conjunction with a manuscript such as the aforementioned Psalter, providing further material for consideration and study. These are large, heavy volumes, neatly structured with no marginal notes, exhibiting an emphasis on clarity of presentation. The psalms are discussed in great detail, often examined verse by verse, with particular verses emphasised by marginal commas. In accordance with medieval methods of biblical interpretation, the glosses extrapolate key themes, highlight cross-references and draw parallels between episodes of the Old and New Testaments, facilitating a detailed, academic study of the psalms. This emphasis on the collating and comparison of texts and tracing chains of references is reflected in the *Ludus* with its various musical and textual citations which evoke other sources. Similarly, the gloss on the psalms finds its counterpart in the *Ludus*' musical insertions which 'gloss' the narrative, expanding its central themes and providing illustrations and examples. The *Flores Psalmorum* indicates that the community at St Pierre were adept at engaging in detailed study, locating cross-references and interpreting allegories, all of which would have enabled them to decipher the *Ludus* fully.

The final manuscript to date in part from the twelfth century is Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 391, entitled *Missel a l'Usage de St Pierre de Lille*. This manuscript has evidently been compiled over a lengthy period of time, its final additions being made towards the end of the fifteenth century and, subsequently, it consists of a variety of different hands and styles of presentation. An attractive manuscript, it contains initial letters in red and blue, some of which are decorated with gold leaf and foliage designs.[102] The manuscript begins with a Calendar denoting the many saints' days and festivals celebrated at St Pierre including, in August, the commemoration of the dedication of the church.[103] The main body of the manuscript is a Sacramentary, containing the liturgical texts used for Mass, categorised with titles such as *Secreta, Prefatio, Post co.* etc. and organised according to the type of service for which they would have been used (see figure

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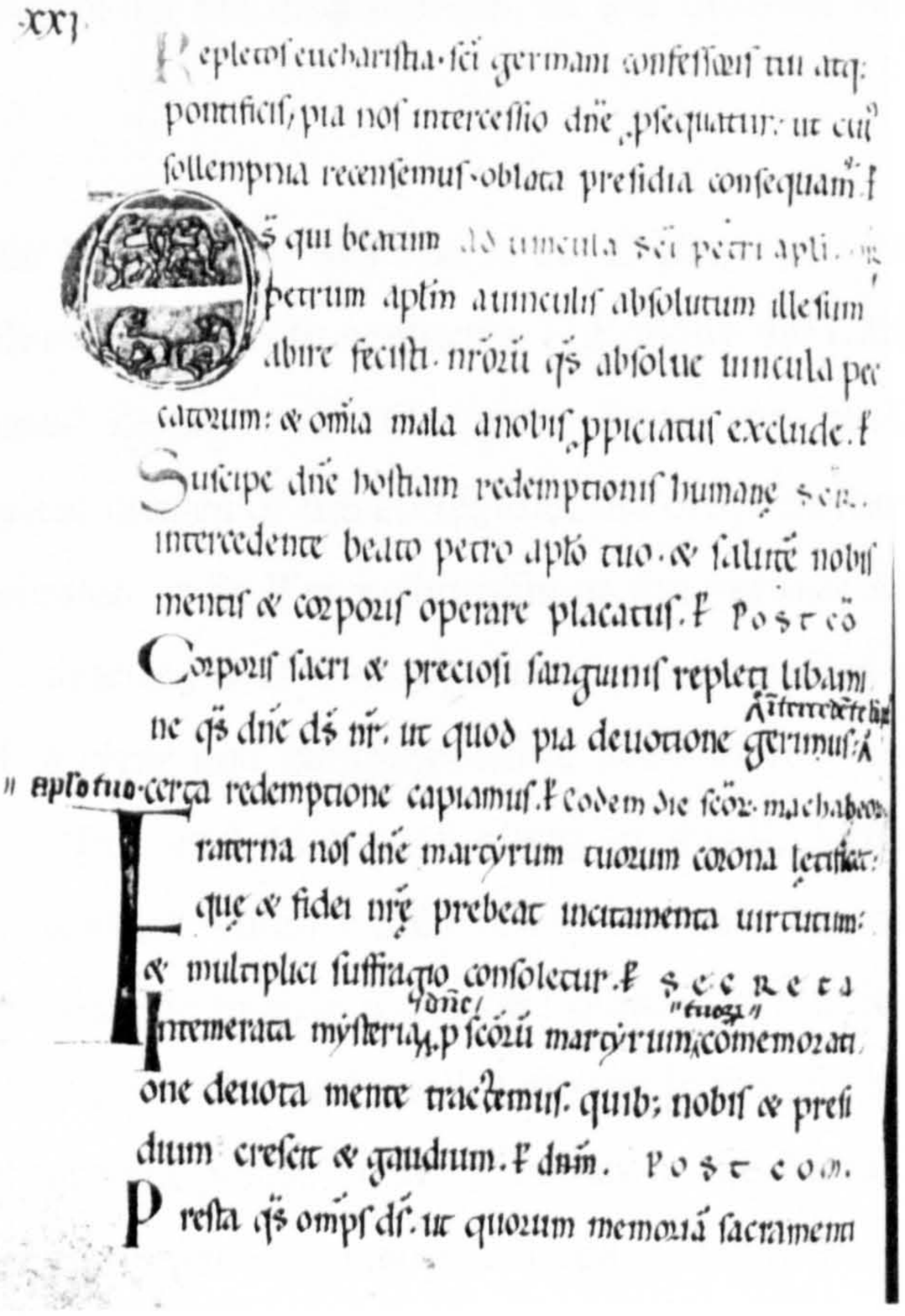
[102] On fol. 37v, there is a full page plate illustrating the crucifixion, with two of the Marys at the foot of the cross, angels above it and the symbols of the four Gospel writers in the four corners. This is beautifully detailed and, although slightly faded now, would have been spectacular in all its original colours.
[103] This Calendar appears on fol. F.

1.5). Towards the end of the manuscript, from fol. 110 onwards, specific items used for selected feasts are detailed. Musical incipits of the sung portions of Mass are included, copied into the manuscript in a variety of different hands and styles. This manuscript is designed as a functional book, and would have served as a reference – a source of liturgical information for the celebration of Mass – in which could be found all the relevant textual or musical material pertaining to specific feast days. Although differing in its function, the *Ludus* shares a number of features with this manuscript in terms of its method of presentation, with both works employing a detailed scheme of rubrication and system of cross-referencing. Through these stylistic features, both the *Ludus* and MS 391 present their contents with clarity and guide their readers easily throughout their pages, facilitating a straightforward location and retrieval of information. It seems likely that, in his design of the *Ludus*, Adam was evoking manuscripts such as this, strengthening the connection between the *Ludus* and the liturgy and its music.[104]


xxj

℟ eplemur eucharistia · sci germani confessoris tui atq;
pontificis, pia nos intercessio dne prosequatur: ut cui
sollempnia recensemus · oblata presidia consequamur.
℣ qui beatum [illegible] petri apli
petrum aplm a uinculis absolutum illesum
abire fecisti · nrorum qs absolue uincula pec
catorum: & omnia mala a nobis ppiciatus exclude. ℟
Suscipe dne hostiam redemptionis humane sen
intercedente beato petro aplo tuo · & salute nobis
mentis & corporis operare placatus. ℟ Postco
Corporis sacri & preciosi sanguinis repleti libami
ne qs dne ds nr. ut quod pia deuotione gerimus: A intercedente
" aplo tuo · certa redemptione capiamus. ℟ eodem die scor. machabeor.
Eternа nos dne martyrum tuorum corona letificet:
que & fidei nre prebeat incitamenta uirtutum:
& multiplici suffragio consoletur. ℟ Secreta
Immemorata mysteria, p scorum martyrum, comemoratione
one deuota mente tractemus. quib; nobis & presi
dium creset & gaudium. ℟ dnm. Postcom.
Presta qs omps ds. ut quorum memoria sacramen

Figure 1.5: Rubrication in Missal, Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 391, fol. 21v

[104] For more information on the way in which Adam encodes meaning in the format and layout of the *Ludus*, see Chapter 2.

Among the manuscripts produced during the thirteenth century is Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 178, a Latin Bible with a prologue by St Jerome. As with many of the other manuscripts under discussion, this Bible was designed for clarity and ease of reading. Every page is headed with an abbreviation of the chapter title in red and blue lettering and each individual biblical book is marked with an ornate decorated capital in red and blue and with illustrated margins. Explicits in red ink denote the end of each book, whilst the individual chapters are indicated in the text with alternating red and blue capitals and in the margins by red and blue Roman numerals. This Bible, with the prologue and commentary of St Jerome bound into the same volume, was clearly designed to facilitate theological study. Its layout encompasses much academic apparatus that is also employed in the *Ludus*, including titles, rubrics, explicits and a table of contents,[105] enabling the reader to navigate easily around the texts and suggesting a scholarly approach to study. The central biblical text is expanded through marginal notation and commentary which serves to draw out key topics and make cross-references between passages, a practice mimicked by Adam in his employment of the musical insertions to gloss the *Ludus*' narrative.

Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564 is the *Ordinaire et Obituaire de St Pierre* dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Following the Calendar, which lists the liturgical feasts and saints' days, is the *Ordinaire* drawn up in 1283[106] to provide a summary of all the liturgical usages of the *collégiale*, the order of the Offices, the festivals and the ceremonies celebrated at St Pierre throughout the various seasons of the Church year. It is an extremely detailed and thorough account, compiled at a time when few churches possessed such a clear and comprehensive body of rubrics.[107] The musical and textual contents of the Office and Mass are given in detail, indicating the antiphons, responsories, hymns and lessons which would have been said or sung at each service of each day. From this, it is possible to gain a detailed picture of the liturgy used at St Pierre as well as pinpointing the precise date and service at which specific items would have been used. A number of the liturgical pieces cited by Adam in the *Ludus* can be found in this manuscript, enabling the particular resonances evoked through their citation to be traced with accuracy.[108]

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[105] On fol. 1.
[106] Chatelet et al., *Histoire de Lille*, 353.
[107] Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale*, i. 404.
[108] See Chapter 5 for more details.

Also copied into the manuscript is the *Obituaire* which documents the many foundations of offices, funeral commemorations and anniversaries celebrated at St Pierre. Read aloud each day at Chapter, it lists the names of all the benefactors of the *collégiale* along with the offices, religious feasts, distributions or alms which they instituted. Like the *Ordinaire*, it was initially compiled in 1283, receiving intercalations until the year 1317, followed by a number of other additions at the end of the volume, the last of which dates from 1506. Among these various documents, we find Adam's obituary marking his death as 26th February 1286.[109] Through its visual appearance and design, with its detailed rubrication, section headings and alternate red and blue initials marking subsections within the text, the *Ludus* appears to evoke manuscripts such as this *Ordinaire*. With its systematic organisation of liturgical plainchant, categorised according to the seasons and festivals of the Church year, MS 564 illustrates the intrinsic connection between individual musical items and certain feasts which Adam utilises in the *Ludus*. By citing a particular liturgical item, Adam would have been certain that his fellow canons would have no difficulty in recognising it and recalling its original context with all its associated resonances.

Also to date from the time Adam was writing the *Ludus* is Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, the *Invitations a l'Usage de St Pierre*, a combined Cantatorium, Antiphoner and Hymnal.[110] This extremely large manuscript consists of incipits of the musical items employed for the various liturgical services at the *collégiale*.[111] Each incipit is preceded with detailed rubrics which classify the genre of piece[112] and specify the feast day or season of the Church year for which it would have been used. In general, there are seven or eight staves to a page and the music is written in large, clear notation using heighted neumes (see figure 1.6). Interlinear notes indicate additional items which could be substituted at particular points in the liturgy. This manuscript includes the solo portions of many of the liturgical items cited by Adam in the *Ludus*. These are recorded in identical versions to those used by Adam, suggesting that he may have consulted this manuscript, or a common source no longer in existence, when selecting his models. Indeed, several of the *Ludus*' musical insertions are laid out on the folio exactly as they would be in a liturgical

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[109] See Introduction, page 5, note 26 for the text of the obituary.
[110] This manuscript was designed for the Precentor's use and so contains only the solo sections of the chants.
[111] As mentioned above, the liturgical services at St Pierre (as elsewhere) were performed from memory, without recourse to chant books and so it is likely that such manuscripts as this must have served as a reference work, perhaps being consulted prior to the service as a memory aid.
[112] For example, Sequence or Offertory.

book such as this. An example can be seen on fol. 32v, on which the responsory sung by Patience is copied into the manuscript with the usual form of responsory, verse and repetition of part of the responsory (amorem). This evocation of liturgical manuscripts suggests that much of the meaning of these sacred *contrafacta* within the new context of the *Ludus*' narrative is derived from their connection with the liturgy and its associated ritual. By alluding to this manuscript through his musical insertions, Adam created a work specifically linked to the church at St Pierre which draws on its traditions and practices as part of its code of signification.

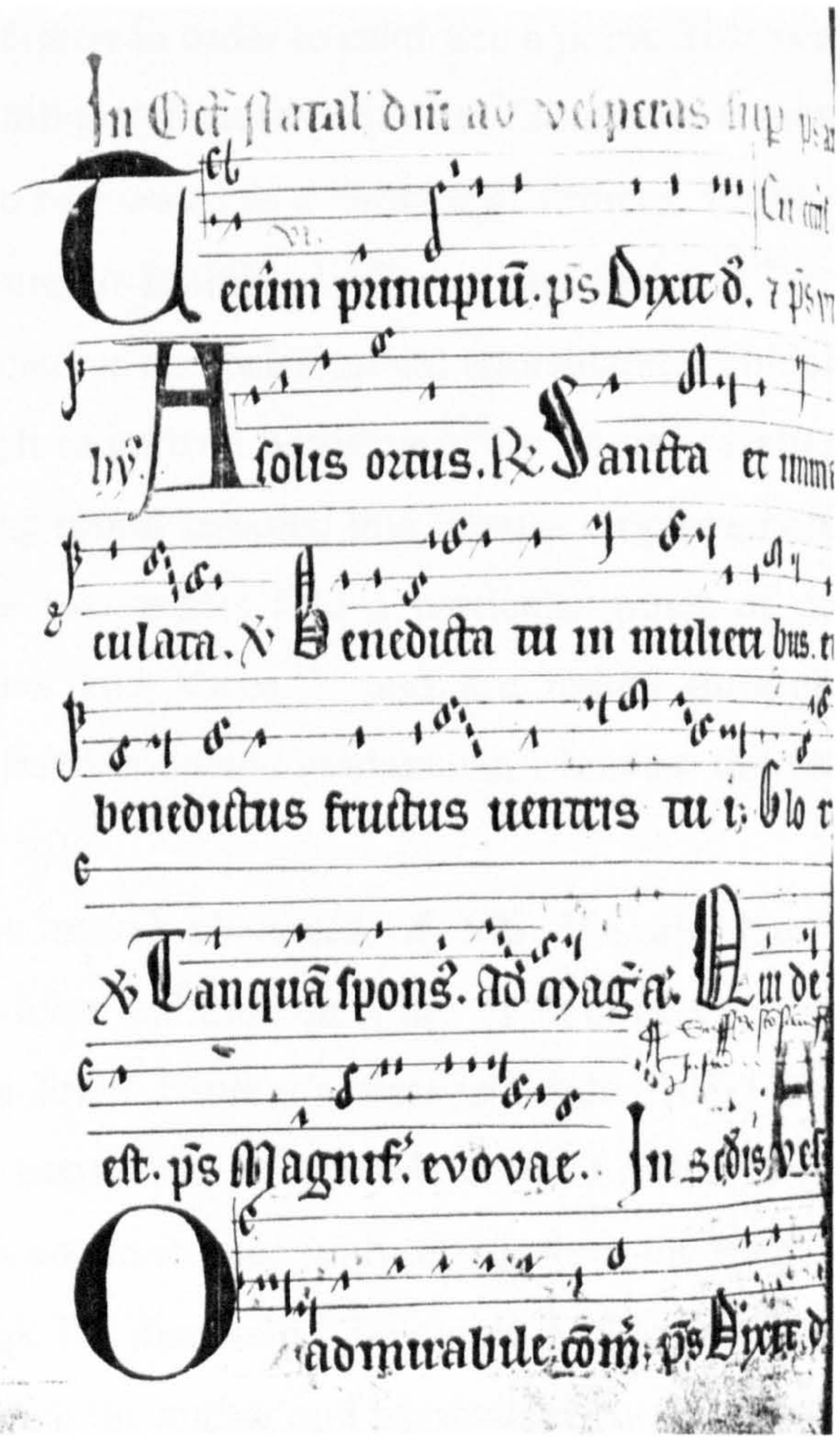

Figure 1.6: Organisation and rubrication in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, fol. 8v

The last two extant manuscripts originating from St Pierre are both *Recueils*: Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 366 and Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 190. Both of these manuscripts contain an assortment of texts, ranging from French poetry and songs to medical information, bound together to form an anthology or miscellany. The first of these, MS 366, comprises a table of moveable feasts, health advice for each month, dates of fairs

held in various locations in the surrounding regions, a Calendar, a treatise entitled *Somme des Vices et des Vertus ou Sommele Roi*, extracts of saints' lives and the Dialogues of St Gregory I in French.[113] The treatise, composed by Frère Laurent – Dominican confessor to King Philip the Bold – in 1279-80 at the king's request, is a manual of moral instruction, inspired by a number of earlier texts, including a treatise on the vices and virtues entitled *Miroir du Monde*. It consists of a number of moralistic homilies on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the seven deadly sins, the knowledge of good and evil, the seven petitions of the Paternostre, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven cardinal virtues and confession. These topics are treated allegorically and Frère Laurent has frequent recourse to metaphor in order to reinforce a point. This is an interesting text which shares a number of significant features with the *Ludus*. As a manual of moral guidance, written for a king, it can be viewed as a 'Mirror of Princes' in the same tradition as works such as *Fauvel* and Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Trésor*.[114] I would suggest that the *Ludus* is similarly designed as an ecclesiastical equivalent, a guidebook for good Christian living, expressed through moralistic narrative.[115] In its use of allegory and metaphor as a means of communicating moral lessons, this treatise employs similar techniques to those seen in the *Ludus*. The two works find a particular point of connection through their emphasis on the Virtues and Vices,[116] and are united through their didactic nature, designed as manuals of instruction and guidance in Christian faith and doctrine.

Emphasising the moral character of MS 366 are the final two texts of the compilation: the saints' lives and the Dialogues of St Gregory I. Expanding upon many of the topics discussed in Frère Laurent's treatises, fols. 105-123 contain the *Livres des Temptations*, a French translation of a work entitled 'The Temptations of the Saints'. Similarly, the Dialogues are concerned with setting forth the lives and virtues of the Italian saints as well as, in Book IV, discussing the eternity of souls.[117] Gregory's work takes the form of a dialogue between the author and his deacon Peter and is divided into accounts of specific saints' lives and deeds, each of which concludes with a clear moral. An extremely popular text throughout the Middle Ages, these tales of the miraculous were interpreted as visible signs of God's love for His creation, inspiring hope in the possibility of the eternal

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[113] The *Dialogues* of St Gregory I were written in 593 and are found in *PL*, lxxvii. 149-430.
[114] Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Trésor*, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley, 1948).
[115] For more information, see Chapter 6, 293-4.
[116] Interestingly, in another thirteenth-century version of this text which contains many illustrations (preserved in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 192), the Virtues and Vices are portrayed as female personifications in much the same way as they are described by Adam.
[117] *PL*, lxxvii. 318-430.

life of the soul. As with the previous text, these hagiographic sketches serve as exemplars for all those who read them, providing models to be imitated in order to live a virtuous life.

The second of these *Recueils* (MS 190) shares a similar moralistic theme and character, containing a French translation of part of the Bible, the *Vie Perdurable de Robert de Chipoi, Clerc de Paris*, moral stories, a meteorological poem, the French version of the *Lucidaire*,[118] and *Le Miracle de Théophile*, a poem by Gautier de Coinci.[119] The *Lucidaire* is a thirteenth-century French translation of the *Elucidarium*,[120] a work written around the beginning of the twelfth century and generally attributed to Honorius of Autun.[121] A compendium of popular medieval thought, it summarises Christian theology in the form of a dialogue between a master and pupil. Aiming not to address major philosophical and theological issues, it was intended to supply basic answers to the simplest questions relevant to both Christian clergy and laity, such as 'Where was God before He made heaven and earth?', 'Why did Christ wish to die at age thirty-three?' and 'Why did God make the world if He wanted it to end one day?'[122] To this end, its tone is simplified and dogmatic, offering easily understood explanations and illustrations. For a thirteenth-century cleric, it was far simpler to turn to the *Elucidarium* or its vernacular translations for queries regarding cosmogony, cosmography and Christology than attempting to decipher the complex explanations found in the scientific writings of the Scholastics.[123] Due to its didactic nature, it was regarded as a major source for instruction and was used extensively as a catechistic tool throughout the Middle Ages.

Exploring similar themes is *Le Miracle de l'Alliance de Théophile avec le Diable*, a poem derived from the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci. It tells of a pact made between Théophile and the devil, from which he is miraculously released by the Virgin Mary.[124] The miracle is followed in the *Recueil* by a lyric verse with the incipit 'A

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[118] *Une Tres Singulier et Profitable Livre Appellé Le Lucidaire*, ed. J. Nachbin (Paris, 1938).
[119] Gautier de Coinci, *Le Miracle de Theophile ou Comment Theophile Vint à la Penitence*, ed. Annette Garnier (Paris, 1998).
[120] *PL* clxxii. 1109-76.
[121] It was later translated by the Dominican Jeffrey of Waterford.
[122] R. P. Kinkade, 'Elucidarium', in Strayer (ed.), *Dictionary of Middle Ages*, iv. 434.
[123] Ibid.
[124] The priest Théophile is dissatisfied with his position and blames God. Hearing his complaint, Salatin offers to give Théophile what he requires if he will renounce God and the saints to serve him. Théophile reluctantly agrees and Salatin conjures the devil, to whom Théophile pays homage, whereupon the bishop restores Théophile to his office. Seven years later Théophile, regretting his action, prays to the Virgin Mary in a chapel. Her statue comes alive, chastises Théophile and tramples on the devil, whom she dispatches to hell. Théophile confesses his sin to the bishop who marvels at the Virgin Mary's miracle.

la loenge et a la gloire' which is coupled with this miracle story in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* itself. Although expressed in a different format, this Miracle poem addresses a number of issues such as the nature of good and evil, and the role of confession and forgiveness, also seen in the *Lucidaire*, reflecting a comparable educative function. Similarly, several of the cosmological questions raised in the *Lucidaire* are explored within the meteorological poem. Like Prudence's journey through the cosmos in the *Ludus*, this poem, with its depiction of the beauty of the universe, can be read allegorically as symbolic of the greatness of God as expressed through nature. [125]

Many parallels can be drawn between this *Recueil* and the *Ludus* with regard to their themes, character and structure. Overall, this anthology, like the *Ludus*, displays a programme of moralistic writing explored throughout its different texts in a variety of ways, through Scripture, poetry, doctrinal text and fables. Exhibiting the same didactic quality which characterises the *Ludus*, the *Recueil* attempts to communicate basic Christian doctrine via several different formats, with each text building on and developing the last, exploring its themes from a fresh perspective. Although containing groupings of seemingly disparate elements, the two St Pierre *Recueils* contained in MS 366 and MS 190 both demonstrate a specific agenda of compilation in which texts drawn from a variety of diverse sources and genres are conjoined within a larger 'meta-text', designed with a particular purpose. Within this framework, the individual items gloss one another in an expansion of its central didactic themes. In its structure, the *Ludus* draws on these compilatory techniques. Mimicking this anthology format, Adam combines a variety of different elements within the *Ludus* – narrative, music, old text, new text – juxtaposing them in such a way that they engage in dialogue, interacting and questioning each other and proposing new ways in which they might be read.[126] These *Recueils* reveal that the members of St Pierre were familiar with the 'poetics' of *conjointure* and compilation and would have brought this knowledge to their reading of the *Ludus*. It is not clear whether these manuscripts predate the *Ludus* and therefore could have influenced Adam or, conversely, whether their compilation was inspired by Adam's own work. However, their presence indicates a wider desire within the *collégiale* for texts addressing a number of philosophical, theological and cosmological questions, containing moral instruction and guidance for living a life of holiness.

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[125] For more information on the allegorical interpretation of nature, see Chapter 6, 272-4.
[126] For further details on the use of anthology format in the *Ludus*, see Chapter 2, 63-7; 82-7.

This survey of the surviving manuscripts from St Pierre reveals a number of common trends, each of which reflects a different aspect of the community at the *collégiale*. Despite their differences of form and function, the majority of the manuscripts are united by their educative role, providing guidance and instruction in various aspects of the Christian faith. The Bible and its prologue and commentary, along with the *Flores Psalmorum* of Lietbert, are indicative of a tradition of biblical, scholastic study in which texts are explored in detail, glossed and expanded, with cross-references made and themes traced. The visually appealing Psalter approaches biblical material from a slightly different perspective, designed to encourage contemplation and meditation. To this end, the texts are presented in such a way as to allow for rumination on, or perhaps memorisation of, a particular psalm or passage, illuminated with illustrations to guide and inspire. The various manuscripts concerning the liturgy provide instruction regarding the daily round at St Pierre and the music which formed the centre of their worship. From these documents, it is possible to trace particular items, locate them precisely within the local liturgical calendar and assess the various resonances which they would have evoked. Finally the *Recueils*, with their diverse contents, have a clear didactic purpose. Through their clever *conjointure* of different texts which interact with, and gloss one another, they represent attempts to create manuals of moral instruction to teach and to guide those seeking to live out their Christian faith. As has been seen, Adam's *Ludus* shares many of the features of these manuscripts, from their design and layout to their subject-matter and contents. Perhaps the most apparent similarity between the *Ludus* and many of the St Pierre manuscripts is their educative function. The canons at St Pierre were evidently greatly interested in texts with a moralistic, instructive character and the *Ludus* exists happily within this context, sharing themes, didactic techniques and edifying qualities. Drawing on the various trends and traditions exhibited in the manuscripts from St Pierre, the *Ludus* can be read as a *summa* of many of these texts, encapsulating their themes and purposes within a unique and innovative framework.

V: St Pierre Today

Standing in the *Place du Concert*, on the site of the old *collégiale*, seems at first to have no connection with thirteenth-century St Pierre. Now, one is surrounded by the frantic activity of the market place and the jostling of the concert goers and students entering into the town concert hall and the conservatoire. Yet the *Place du Concert* is not as far removed

from St Pierre as it would first appear. Turning around, one notices the spire of the nineteenth-century Cathedral de Notre Dame, rebuilt on ground originally belonging to the *collégiale*. Glancing down *Rue de la Monnaie*, the hospital (now a museum) is still visible and one can gain a glimpse of the river on the banks of which the schools were once located. Now, as then, people go about their daily business within the shadow of the cathedral, illustrating that intersection of sacred and secular culture seen in the thirteenth century and still prevalent today. Similarly, the triumvirate of hospital, conservatoire and cathedral is an echo of the hospital, schools and church of thirteenth-century St Pierre, representing the conjunction of body, mind and soul of such vital importance to the community. The concert hall and conservatoire, located directly above the site of the *collégiale*, along with the plainchant school now held in the cathedral, continue the age-old tradition of music first celebrated on this spot by Adam and his fellow canons.

It is evident that, in creating the *Ludus*, Adam was profoundly influenced by many aspects of the community in which he lived and worked. Drawing inspiration from the place itself, Adam's work reflects St Pierre's three-fold mission as a community to care for flesh, intellect and spirit and, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, this philosophy governs Adam's use of music within his narrative. Perhaps inspired by the physical building of the church, Adam designed the *Ludus* along similar lines to the rebuilt choir, creating within its pages a space for worship and reflection, praise and contemplation. In his choice of musical insertions to enhance his narrative, Adam drew on Lille's dual heritage of sacred liturgical music heard within St Pierre and the secular music of local trouvères performed at the regional *puys*. The moralistic, didactic topoi of the *Ludus*, created as a guidebook for living a life of virtue, find numerous connections with many of the surviving books from the library at St Pierre which Adam would no doubt have read and studied. With its themes of tradition and innovation, sacred and secular, liturgy and ritual, education and moral instruction, the *Ludus* embodies the characteristic features of the community at St Pierre. Today, there is very little sign that St Pierre ever existed, just a small grey plaque on the side of a building which announces its former presence. Yet, the lively, thriving, creative community in which Adam created his work is preserved forever within the pages of the *Ludus*.

Table 1.1
Manuscripts from the Chapter of St. Pierre Held at Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale

Shelfmark	Title as recorded in the Catalogue of Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale	Date – Century
2	Charles Gueluy. Memorial de la Devation Raisonnable	17th
17	Liber Amicarum 1595-1658	16th & 17th
92	Heures, Messes et Priers	15th
104	Bieus et Charges de la Turissie de Saint-Pierre	17th
118	La Deffence des Affligées	17th
137	'Dicta SS Patrum et Doctorum'	15th
158	Heures, en Latin, et Prieres, en Flamand	15th
178	Bible Latine	13th
190	Recueil	14th
205	Cartulaire Liber Decanus	13th - 15th
211	Psaultier en Latin [incomplete]	12th
224	Heures, en Latin, et Priers	15th
231-232	Remarques sur le Deciet de Gratien et le Decretales de Gregorie IX	17th
261-2	Remarques sur les Conciles	17th
274	Cartulaire Liber Catenatus	13th - 15th
308	Recueil de Rondeaux	16th
314	Livre d'Exorcismes, à l'Usage de Saint-Pierre de Lille	16th
316	*Ludus*	14th
322	Recueil	15th
334	Recueil	18th
340	Recueil de Pretes concernant la Privâte de Saint-Pierre de Lille	16th
343	Miscellanea de Gilles Tesson	17th
366	Recueil	14th
381	Scriptores Insulenses	18th
383	Vies de Saints, en Français, et Sermons	15th
390	Le Tresor de la Cite des Dames	15th
391	Missel, à l'Usage de Saint-Pierre de Lille	12th & 15th
403	'Relacion de las Felices Sucesors … de les Avisas Secretas de Guerra'	17th
406	Recueil	15th

Shelfmark	Title as recorded in the Catalogue of Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale	Date – Century
409	Livre des Serments, à l'Usage de Saint-Pierre de Lille	16th
410	Praces Verbal de l'Assemblie Générale du Clergé en 1641	17th
414-417	Conference des Avocats du Parlement	17th & 18th
421-422	Descente de Filandie	16th
436	Le Livre du Roi Madus et de la Renie Racia	15th
446	Recueil de Plantes	17th
457	Philipe Wielant 'Ad Majorem Die Divinae que … Année 1506; 1634'	17th
466	'Veprecularia'	18th
483	Pierre Cuvclier, Recueil d'Arrêts	18th
489	Recueil	17th
496	Recueil de Dessins à la Plume, relatifs à l'Art du Tourneur	16th & 17th
518	Pharmacapaea Insulensis	18th
519-521	Jean Molinet Chronique 1474 – 1506 [3 vols]	16th
528	Differents Fondations Pienses faites dans la Ville de Lille ses Environs	18th
532	Commentaires sur les Epities de S. Paul	17th
536-538	Lietbert, Abbé de Saint-Ruf, Flores Psalmorum [3 vols]	12th
564	Ordinaire et Obituaire de Saint-Pierre de Lille	13th - 14th
599	Invitations à l'Usage de Saint-Pierre de Lille	14th
603	Repertain à l'Usage des Echains de Lille	16th
611	Praces Verbal de l'Assemblie Générale du Clergé en 1641	17th
612	Recueil	17th
614	'Chy Commendient lez dis Manuale dez Philosophes'	15th
624	Discanus des Guerres de Paris et de Guyennes	17th
626	Missel	15th
629	Recueil de Portraits aux Crayons de Couleur	16th
633	Extrait des Chroniques de Molinet	17th
637-638	Charles Adrien Lecacq 'Commentaire sur les Coutumes et Usages Generause de la Salle'	18th
664-666	Charles Adrien Lecacq 'Commentaire sur la Coutume de la Ville de Lille'	18th
671	Repertain, des Registres aux Titres de la Ville de Lille	17th
676	Obimanies de Messine Abichel Auge	17th
678	Chronique Lilloise – 1600-1662	17th
688	Hortus Perennis	18th

Shelfmark	Title as recorded in the Catalogue of Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale	Date – Century
706-714	'Traité du Droit Canonique et des Matieres Beneficiales	18th
718	Recueil de Chartes	16th
732	Valerie Maseime Traduction par 'Nicole de Genesse'	15th
736	Catalogue Raisonné des Livres de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre	18th
795	Vies de Saints, en Français	15th
797	Renauvellement de la Lai de Lille	18th
799-800	Creations de la Lay et Magistrat de ceste Ville de Lille	18th
807	Missel, à l'Usage de Saint-Pierre de Lille	15th

Key:

Text in red = those manuscripts which are likely to have been available to Adam at the time he wrote the *Ludus* and which I consulted at the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lille.

Chapter Two
The *Ludus* in Context

With its combination of narrative poem, lyric insertions (some *contrafacta*, some *unica*), musical notation and rubrication, the *Ludus* is not a unique experiment but rather forms part of the corpus of lyric-interpolated *romans*. Encompassed by this tradition is an extremely diverse range of works, yet all are united by their common structure of passages of narrative poetry interpolated with lyric insertions. This juxtaposition of contrasting genres highlights a number of issues regarding how this combination of music and narrative, song and speech, is to be interpreted and how it would have been understood and received by a contemporary audience.[1] The presence of the lyric insertions, some of which are preserved with musical notation, raises questions about the reception of such works: were they intended to be performed or do their insertions serve some other semiotic purpose? Furthermore, how is the nature and status of the songs altered by the enclosing framework of the book? In their construction of these lyric-interpolated *romans*, many authors drew upon a variety of scribal practices, including the use of *contrafacta*, *conjointure* and *compilatio*, as a way of creating additional layers of meaning and indicating the purpose and function of their works. This experimentation with the combining of different forms of communication had a considerable effect upon the physical appearance of the manuscripts in which these works were contained, resulting in numerous developments in design and layout as authors sought to reveal the themes of their work through its form. In order to explore the various indicators contained within the *Ludus* which signal the way in which Adam intended his work to be received, this chapter will outline and examine various contexts, in terms of the practice of lyric-interpolation, the idea of 'the book', traditions of orality and literacy, and modes of reception.

I: The Tradition of Lyric Insertion

The corpus of lyric-interpolated narratives has been studied for almost a century by literary scholars and has increasingly captured the attention of musicologists, primarily

[1] The concept of 'audience' with regard to medieval literature has long been a subject for debate and will be considered towards the end of this chapter. For the purposes of this chapter I use the term to refer to both listeners and readers.

because of the great wealth and variety of the music contained within many of the works.[2] Studies have ranged from the examination of the role of the insertions within a specific *roman* to catalogues of the entire corpus, and have encompassed aspects such as contemporary performance practice and music in a manuscript context.[3] Within these various studies, the *Ludus* has often been overlooked, reduced to a brief mention in a footnote or disregarded altogether.[4] The primary reason for its exclusion is because it is written in Latin rather than Old French, the predominant language of this repertory. Its religious subject matter and didactic tone also set it apart from this tradition, despite such works as Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *Court de Paradis* sharing a number of its theological themes. Perhaps the most significant characteristic which distinguishes the *Ludus* is the sophistication with which Adam employs the musical insertions throughout his work, a feature seen in later texts such as *Fauvel*.[5] Despite its omission from numerous discussions of this corpus, there is still much to be learnt about Adam's work from the body of scholarship regarding lyric-interpolated narratives. From these studies, we gain a picture of a tradition marked by great diversity, in terms of the enclosing narratives, the inserted musical items and the roles which the insertions play. Yet despite this diversity, scholarly opinion is united in the view that the presence of the musical interpolations, whatever their style, genre and function, fundamentally alters the narrative into which they are inserted, requiring new methods of interpretation.

The compilation of a list of works including lyric insertions was begun in the nineteenth century by Alfred Jeanroy and has subsequently been expanded by a number of

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[2] For the main studies of this tradition, see Anne Ladd, *Lyric Insertions in Thirteenth Century French Narrative* (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1977); Maria Vedder Fowler, *Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives,* 2 vols. (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1979); Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, *Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (M.Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1980); Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1993); Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, 1987). Maria Vedder Coldwell, in her article '*Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations', *Musica Disciplina*, 35 (1981), 55-86, provides several tables listing these works and the number and genre(s) of their insertions.

[3] Vedder Fowler has studied and catalogued the entire corpus and discusses what specific insertions reveal about contemporary performance practices; Boulton has examined many examples of lyric insertions, from which she devises a number of categories of insertion, analysing their functions within the enclosing narrative; Huot studies the music in manuscript context and provides readings of poems as manifested in book form. For a more detailed survey of scholars' approaches to these works, see Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 15-19.

[4] Both Boulton and Huot choose to consider only French narratives and so the *Ludus* is necessarily excluded from their studies, whilst Ardis Butterfield, in *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002), mentions the *Ludus* very briefly: see 177-8.

[5] See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of the relationship between the *Ludus* and *Fauvel*.

scholars.[6] Since then, almost one hundred works have been categorised as lyric-interpolated *romans*, ranging in date from the early thirteenth to the early fifteenth century. The device of quoting songs within narrative texts is believed to have arisen first in northern France and is often traced back to Jean Renart's *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (*c.* 1228);[7] indeed, Renart claims in his prologue that he has created a new genre.[8] However, a similar combination of two separate literary components can be located in the Latin *prosi-metrum* of late classical origin.[9] Other possible predecessors are works such as *Flamenca*,[10] a narrative containing extended passages describing musical festivities during courtly banquets, and the late twelfth-century *Aucassin et Nicolette*,[11] which alternates twenty short sections of narrative prose with twenty-one lyric *lais* sung to the same melodic formula. From works such as these, it was only a small step to inserting into the text a variety of different musical pieces which enhance and elaborate the central narrative and this was Jean Renart's distinctive contribution to the genre. With his combination of narrative poetry interspersed with forty-eight musical items, he established a tradition which draws on the intertextual character of medieval literature in order to suggest many interpretative possibilities.

The works incorporating lyric insertions vary tremendously in form and genre, encompassing prose and poetry, romances, narratives, chronicles, didactic works and drama, all of which exhibit a wide range of plots and styles. Maria Vedder Fowler distinguishes six general stylistic categories into which these works fall and these provide a useful means of classification and comparison:[12] romance and adventure stories, such as

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[6] Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Origins de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Âge: Etude de Littérature Française et Comparée* (Paris, 1889; 2nd ed. with additions and bibliographical appendix, 1904). See also Friedrich Ludwig, 'Die Quellen der Motetten "ältesten Stils"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 5 (1923; repr. 1964), 185-222; Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et Refrains du XIIe Siècle au Début du XIVe* (Paris, 1969), 313-38. In Appendix 1 of *Song in the Story,* Boulton provides a chronological list of narrative works containing lyric insertions, as well as a full listing of earlier studies: see 295-7. Similarly, in the Appendix to Butterfield's *Poetry and Music*, she provides an annotated catalogue of manuscript sources of song in both narrative and didactic texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: 303-13.

[7] Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole: Publié d'après le Manuscrit du Vatican*, ed. Gustave Servois (Paris, 1893); *Jean Renart: Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris, 1970).

[8] 'einsi a il chans et sons mis / en cestui *Romans de la Rose*, / qui est une novele chose' (so has he put songs and music in this *Romance of the Rose*, which is a new thing), vv. 10-12; translation by Boulton, in *Song in the Story*, 11.

[9] See Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 9.

[10] *Flamenca: Roman Occitan du XIIIe Siècle*, ed. Jean-Charles Huchet (Paris, 1988).

[11] *Aucassin et Nicolette: Chantefable du XIIIe Siècle*, ed. Mario Roques (Paris, 1967).

[12] A more detailed explanation of these categories is given in Vedder Fowler, *Musical Interpolations*, 13-18. For a description of the date and authorship of the lyric-interpolated *romans*, see Table 1 of Vedder Coldwell's 'Guillaume de Dole', 71-5.

Guillaume de Dole, *Le Roman de la Violette*,[13] *Méliacin*,[14] *Le Tournai de Chauvency*,[15] and *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci*;[16] allegorical works (these usually narrate a dream of the author, often an encounter with the god of Love), such as *Li Romanz de la Poire*,[17] *Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours*,[18] and *Le Remède de Fortune*;[19] satirical works (these may include the depiction of Virtues or saints, or substitute animals for people), such as *Le Roman de Fauvel*,[20] and *Le Roman de Renart le Nouvel*;[21] 'autobiographical' works (in these, the author is both the main character and the composer of the insertions), such as *Le Voir Dit*;[22] religious narratives (the narration of miracles or pageants set in heaven) such as *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*,[23] the *Ludus* and *La Court de Paradis*;[24] and finally dramas, such as *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*.[25]

Into these narrative frameworks, the authors insert their chosen lyrics: these are generally pre-existent but there are examples in which the insertions have been composed specifically for the work.[26] Including virtually all the main lyric genres of the period, the interleaved musical items exhibit a great deal of variety. The majority consist of monophonic French songs, such as trouvère or troubadour chansons, or refrains or rondeaux. Although many of the trouvère or troubadour songs employed are courtly love songs, a number of texts also contain pastourelles, *jeux-partis*, *chansons de toile* and dance

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[13] Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers*, ed. Douglas L. Buffum (Paris, 1928).
[14] Girart d'Amiens, *Le Conte de Cheval de Fust ou Méliacin: Extraits Publiés d'après le Texte du MS de la Biblioteca Riccardiana de Florence*, ed. Paul Aebischer (Geneva, 1974).
[15] Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournai de Chauvency*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris, 1932).
[16] Jakemès, *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel*, ed. Maurice Debouille (Paris, 1936).
[17] Thibaut, *Li Romanz de la Poire: Erotisch-Allegorisches Gedicht aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Stehlich (Halle, 1881).
[18] Nicole de Margival, *Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours: Poème du XIIIe Siècle*, ed. Henry A. Todd (Paris, 1883).
[19] Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Remède de Fortune*, in Ernest Hoepffner (ed.), *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908-21).
[20] *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146*, ed. Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990).
[21] Jacquemars Gielée, *Renart le Nouvel: Publié d'après le Manuscrit La Vallière, B.N. fr. 25566*, ed. Henri Roussel (Paris, 1961).
[22] Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre du Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem)*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York, 1998).
[23] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V. Frederick Koenig, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1955-70).
[24] *La Court de Paradis: Poème Anonyme du XIIIe Siècle*, ed. Eva Vilamo-Pentti (Helsinki, 1953).
[25] Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion, Précédé du Jeu de Pèlerin*, ed. Kenneth Varty (London, 1960).
[26] Particular examples of this method of insertion are found in *Le Remede de Fortune* and *Le Voir Dit*, for which Machaut composed all the inserted lyrics.

songs.[27] Within this tradition, most of the inserted lyrics are drawn from the secular, vernacular repertory, yet several works – including *Fauvel* and the *Ludus* – incorporate monophonic Latin insertions, derived from the vast repertory of the liturgy. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, several authors began to include polyphonic items among their insertions, increasing the wealth of intertextual references evoked.[28]

Scholars have devised a number of systems of categorisation which illustrate the inventiveness and ingenuity with which authors employed their selected songs. Maurice Accarie proposes four categories based on the function of the lyric insertion: *chansons descriptives*, which are used as description in scenes of courtly life; *chansons sentimentales*, in which characters voice their emotions; *chansons structurelles*, which serve an organisational function; and *chansons-déplacement*, which accompany the transition between two places.[29] Jane H. M. Taylor suggests categorising an individual insertion within the context of a narrative as serving either a poetic or a communicative function. This model utilises a spectrum which ranges from insertions whose lyric form is their essential element to those which form a vital part of the plot.[30] Combining various aspects of these classifications, Maureen Boulton divides the functions of lyric insertions into four main categories. The first of these is the use of songs as monologues, in which they serve to describe a character's state of mind or to express his emotions. An example of this can be seen in the *Roman de la Violette*: of the thirty-nine songs quoted, thirteen are chansons and nine of these are used expressively. Euriaut (the heroine), daydreams about her absent lover, and is moved to song by these amorous thoughts:

> Lors li souvint de son ami
> Dont souspire et plaint et gemi
> Apriés, quant elle a souspiré,
> L'a un poi amours aspiré
> A chanter, si com jou devin,
> Un vier d'un boin son poitevin.

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[27] These works are *Guillaume de Dole, Roman de la Violette, Méliacin, Roman du Castelain de Couci* and *Panthère d'Amours*. The *Romanz de la Poire, Court de Paradis, Tournoi de Chauvency, Jeu de Robin et de Marion* and *Renart le Nouvel* have only refrains.
[28] The *Ludus* is an example of such a work, containing two polyphonic insertions, a motet and an *Agnus*.
[29] Maurice Accarie, 'Le Fonction des Chansons du *Guillaume de Dole*', in *Mélanges Jean Larmat: Regards sur le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice, 39 (Nice, 1982), 13-29.
[30] Jane H. M. Taylor, 'The Lyric Insertion: Towards a Functional Model', in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context*, Selected Papers for the Fifth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9-16 August 1986 (Amsterdam, 1990), 539-48. This model is based on Roman Jakobson's distinction between 'code' and 'message' proposed in his *Essais de Linguistique Générale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1963-73), i. 209-48.

> (Then afterwards she remembered her lover, for whom she sighs and laments and moans. Afterward, when she sighed, love inspired her a little to sing, as I guess, a stanza of a good song of Poitou).[31]

She sings a stanza from a *canso* by Bernart de Ventadorn and this icon of *fin'amors*, with all its associated resonances, serves as the only expression of her feelings.[32]

Boulton's second category is that of songs as description, where the lyric items either supplement or replace passages of narrative description. An example of this occurs in the *Tournai de Chauvency* by Jacques Bretel, a work which consists of numerous detailed descriptions of celebrations and jousts accompanied by music. Once the tournament has ended, the contestants, though bruised and battered, join in singing as the company returns to the castle.[33]

> Et li chevalier tuit monté,
> Detaillié et haligoté,
> Blecié de cors et de visaiges,
> Si d'armes en est li usaiges,
> Les enmaignent, joie faisant.
> Une chançon douce et plaisant
> Chantoient tuit par grant deport:
> 'Je taig par le doi m'amie –
> Vaigne avant cui je en fas tort!'
>
> (The knights all mounted, cut and torn, wounded in body and face, they bring them joyfully. They sang a sweet and pleasant song for entertainment: 'I hold my lady by the hand – he whom I wrong, come forth!')[34]

Through the citation of this refrain, the author is enabled to depict the 'light-hearted mood' of those who took part in the tournament, as well as providing an element of realism to the festivities.[35]

The third category concerns the use of songs as plot, in which insertions either serve as substitutes for action or convey information that would otherwise have remained secret. An example of a song affecting the course of a plot is found in the *Lai d'Aristotle* in which a narrative function is ascribed to a series of songs.[36] In this work, Alexander's tutor, Aristotle, has criticised his pupil for devoting too much time to love, much to the annoyance of Alexander's mistress. She resolves to teach Aristotle a lesson and ensnare

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[31] Buffum edition, lines 317-22; translation by Boulton, in *Song in the Story*, 37.
[32] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 36.
[33] Ibid., 94.
[34] Delbouille edition, lines 4123-30; trans. Boulton, in *Song in the Story*, 94.
[35] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 94.
[36] Henri d'Andeli, *Lai d'Aristote, d'après tous les Manuscrits*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris, 1951).

him, commencing upon her plan by dancing outside his window and singing this song, which both depicts her actions and foreshadows the reaction she expects.[37]

C'est la jus desoz l'olive.
Or la voi venir, m'amie!
La fontaine i sort serie,
El glaioloi, desoz l'aunoi.
Or la voi, la voi, la voi,
La bele blonde! A li m'otroi!

(It's down there, beneath the olive tree. Now I see her coming, my beloved! The spring gushes forth clear among the gladiolas, beneath the alder. Now I see her, see her, see her, the beautiful blonde! I give myself to her!)[38]

Boulton's final category is that of songs as message, in which lyrics are either performed in the presence of the person to whom they are addressed, or else sent as a form of musical letter. The *Roman de Tristan en Prose* contains a number of letters, of which seven are in verse.[39] In this example, Iseut writes a letter in the form of a *lai* to Tristan, asking him to return from his quest for the grail. The *lai* is not inserted at this point in the narrative but is 'sung' on delivery:[40]

Amis courtois, preus et senés,
Vostre amie pour coi penés?
S'onques fustes d'amours penés
Ne me demandés riens, mais venés!

(Courteous lover, brave and wise, why do you pain your beloved? If you were ever wounded by love, ask me nothing, but come!)[41]

These various systems of categorisation, which illustrate the complexity of this tradition, provide a useful means of cataloguing the different insertions in particular *romans*. However, as they focus specifically upon the functions of the insertions *within* the narrative, they can serve only as a starting point for an enquiry. In order to decipher the full meaning of a work, it is vital to explore the extra-narrative function(s) of the insertions, assessing the wider resonances they evoke and the traditions to which they allude. Whilst providing a means of communication from one character to another within the narrative framework, the inserted musical items also 'speak' directly from the author to his audience, elucidating hidden themes and meanings locked within the narrative.

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[37] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 125.
[38] Delbouille edition, lines 303-8; trans. Boulton, in *Song in the Story*, 125.
[39] *Le Roman de Tristan en Prose: Les Lais du Roman de Tristan en Prose d'après le Manuscrit Vienne 2542*, ed. Tatiana Fotitch and Ruth Steiner (Munich, 1974).
[40] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 154.
[41] *Le Roman de Tristan en Prose*, ed. Fotitch and Steiner, 111, x. 1-4; trans. Boulton, in *Song in the Story*, 154.

The recording of songs within a narrative context poses the question of how these songs should be interpreted. Whilst many works, like *Guillaume de Dole*, include only the text of their lyric insertions, with others merely supplying titles or incipits, a number of *romans* preserve musical notation for the insertions copied into their narrative.[42] The presence of music within the pages of these works allows for the possibility of performance – of a sound experience – whilst simultaneously questioning the relationship between the written notation and the characteristics of musical sound. A number of works suggest the likelihood of performance as their inserted songs are described within the narrative as being sung.[43] Examples of this may be found in *Guillaume de Dole*, in which songs frequently occur during scenes depicting festivities and are often introduced with lines such as 'Une dame s'est avanciee, / vestue d'une cote en graine, / si chante ceste premeraine',[44] or 'Por l'amor Liénor, / dont il avoit el cuer le non, / a comencié ceste chançon'.[45] Such works have led scholars to suggest that this would have been reflected in performance with the reciter breaking off to sing each insertion, perhaps encouraging the participation of the audience.[46] Yet in works like the *Ludus* and *Fauvel*, there are occasions where no mention is made of a song in the text but instead it is 'silently juxtaposed' on the page with no indication as to where it should enter the narrative.[47]

Within this tradition, only a small minority of manuscripts include full notation, suggesting that for the creators of many of these works 'actual performance was not regarded as a priority'.[48] This is substantiated by the presence of a group of manuscripts including 'partial notation' in which a number of visual markers such as indentation, the use of red ink, rubrication etc., distinguish the lyric text from its surrounding narrative. Similarly, there are examples of manuscripts in which the scribe has left space for staves or, indeed, copied the staves into the manuscript but subsequently left them blank. Clearly these manuscripts could not have been performed from, and yet they provide enough information to be 'read', indicating the presence, although not the musical content, of a

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[42] For a catalogue of works which include musical notation, see Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 295-7.
[43] Where there is no notation included, the chosen insertions were frequently popular and well-known and, on many occasions, the incipit would have been enough to facilitate the singing of the song.
[44] 'A lady came forward dressed in a red coat and sang this song first', Lecoy edition, lines 511-13; translation by Coldwell, in 'Guillaume de Dole', 59.
[45] 'For the love of beautiful Liénor whose name was engraved in his heart he began this song', Lecoy edition, lines 920-22; trans. Coldwell, in 'Guillaume de Dole', 59.
[46] See Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 6.
[47] This method of insertion and its use in the *Ludus* is considered in Chapter 3, 115-16.
[48] Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the* Roman de Fauvel (Cambridge, 2002), 56.

song.[49] For the majority of compilers of lyric-interpolated *romans* it seems that it was the existence of the song, rather than its ability to function as a prescriptive instruction for performance, that was its essential aspect. Even in works such as the *Ludus* where detailed notation is included, this notation may serve a variety of functions that are not simply musical. The physical appearance of musical notation within a narrative work has a particular status that is no longer subordinate to sounding music. Freed from its performative role, it functions autonomously as a 'symbolic, visual artefact',[50] a representation of specific traditions and a further layer of communication. The inserted songs are profoundly shaped and transformed as a result of the new contexts in which they appear. Thus, lyric insertions and narrative are united in a symbiotic relationship: the narrative alters and contains the songs, whilst the songs modify the character of their surrounding narrative.[51]

II: Practices of Insertion: *Contrafacta, Conjointure* and *Compilatio*

The interpolation of lyrics (especially those with musical notation) into a narrative causes a number of difficulties regarding coherence and consistency, a challenge that has been addressed in numerous different ways by authors and compilers. One of the chief effects of inserting a musical piece into a narrative poem is that it creates an element of disruption, highlighting the sense of boundary between one form of communication and another. The inserted lyrics are distinguished from the narrative by certain characteristics, which serve to emphasise the contrast of genre. Whereas a narrative is usually a third person account of a series of past events progressing towards a conclusion, a lyric poem is 'atemporal and static',[52] with the poet speaking directly in the present tense about a single moment in time, causing a rupture in the narrative thread. On a more fundamental level there is the contrast between two different modes of language – song and speech – which, if handled incorrectly, can undermine the narrative structure, creating inconsistency and disruption. In order to prevent this lack of cohesion when inserting lyrics into a poem, the author must account for the inserted song in some way, contriving a context in which singing would be appropriate, such as a banquet or tournament.[53]

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[49] See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 56 for more details.
[50] Ibid., 46.
[51] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 22.
[52] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 3.
[53] Thirty-five of the forty-eight insertions in *Guillaume de Dole* appear in the context of scenes of court life, with songs performed during a *fête champêtre*, after dinner, at a party and whilst riding to a tournament: see Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 83-4 for more details.

The issue of coherence is rendered all the more acute when dealing with a pre-existing inserted song. When citing such an item, the author has to devise a method by which he can reconcile the differences between the theme and text of his narrative and those of the song. There are various ways in which this can be accomplished, the first being that the author might alter the text of the song in order to make it more appropriate to the subject of his narrative. Many of the texts of the songs inserted into *Fauvel* have been changed in order to relate their content more specifically to the work, for example, *Quare fremuerunt gentes* inserted on fol. 1. The version included in *Fauvel* preserves the original text which speaks about themes of sin and war, but an additional cauda, 'Hec, inquam, inferunt Fauvel et Falvuli' (These, I say, are caused by Fauvel and the tribes of Fauvel), 'fauvelises' the text and relates it directly to the theme of the narrative. Alternatively, an author might quote only part of a song that is pertinent to his subject matter. Throughout *Guillaume de Dole*, Renart frequently inserts the first stanza of a trouvère chanson into his narrative. However, part way through his narrative he chooses the second stanza of a Gace Brulé chanson, *Bien cuidai toute ma vie*. At this point in the narrative, the hero Conrad has been deceived by a jealous seneschal into believing that the woman whom he intends to marry has been unfaithful. This is reflected in the inserted stanza which develops the theme of anger towards his intended and curses the fickleness of women.[54]

A number of authors, like Adam, choose to cite the music alone, leaving the audience to recall the original text with which the music is associated. On other occasions, authors actively exploit the tension between the lyric text and their poetry to dramatic effect, often resulting in irony between the sentiment of the song and the character into whose mouth it is placed. This particular relationship between song and enclosing narrative occurs throughout *Guillaume de Dole*. In selecting his insertions, Renart chooses to mark the growth of Conrad's preoccupation with Liénor with a series of cited trouvère chansons which, in a variety of different ways, serve as an expression of his feelings. However, the relationship between the narrative and the courtly ideal proposed by the inserted lyrics is not as straightforward as it would first appear. Although ascribing to the ideal of *fin'amors* and modelling himself upon the courtly lover, Conrad's actions fall far short and instead he only plays at this role.[55]

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[54] See Lecoy edition, lines 3625-31.
[55] For more detail, see Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 31-2.

Many inserted items consist only of the first stanza or the refrain of a song and yet often it is apparent that the author intends his audience to recall the stanzas left uncited, bringing this knowledge to their reading of the work. Through this 'silent citation', an author can effect an implicit foreshadowing of forthcoming events in the narrative or introduce a subversive undertone which causes the audience to question the motivation of the characters or the outcome of the plot. Again, an example of this can be seen in *Guillaume de Dole*. Renart inserts the first two strophes of Bernart de Ventadorn's *Quant voi l'aloete moder*, which talk of unrequited love and desire and fit the narrative well. However, the tone of the unquoted strophes becomes increasingly desperate, with the protagonist stating that his lover has toyed with his affections and then dashed his hopes, prefiguring the purported infidelity of Liénor towards Conrad which occurs later in the narrative. This mode of citation functions in a similar way to that noted above, where only the music of a pre-existing song is cited. Both techniques enable an author to evoke other texts and other contexts, hinting at further interpretative directions which may only be discerned by considering the inaudible dimension of the lyric insertion. The interpretation of an inserted song is rarely as simple and straightforward as it first appears; thus, it is only through a detailed reading which incorporates a study of the song's complete form, original text and context that it is possible to uncover the extra references and resonances to which the author alludes.

The lyric-interpolated tradition is characterised by the number of *contrafacta* employed by authors to adorn their literary creations, drawing upon pre-existing songs derived from an established repertory. This concept of re-writing and recycling is central to the device of lyric insertion, with songs frequently selected due to their status and meaning acquired from their original context, recalling the practices of *auctoritas* and *conjointure* prevalent in many medieval literary works.[56] The insertion of a song with a clearly defined musical, textual or generic identity enabled an author to imbue his work with legitimacy and authority, whilst inviting comparison with the tradition of which it is a part. The process of *contrafacta*, the 'placing and replacing of words in relation to melodies',[57] exploits the instability of the relationship between text and music in the Middle Ages and forms part of the widespread practice of melodic and textual adaptation. As with many of the poetic devices inherent in the lyric-interpolated tradition, the arts of memory and

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[56] For an exploration of this issue, see Daniel Poirion, 'Écriture et Ré-écriture au Moyen Âge', *Littérature*, 41 (1981), 109-18.
[57] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 103.

recollection play a key role. *Contrafacta* citations function precisely by relying on the audience's prior knowledge of their previous textual and/or musical associations which they bring to the narrative into which they are inserted.[58] By recalling original texts, contexts, repertories and traditions, the audience is able to grasp the full significance of the insertion and decipher the various 'messages' which it encodes. The fusion of elements derived from different texts and the juxtaposition of familiar conventions with new contexts serve to enrich their respective meanings, weaving a web of references and allusions which enhances the intricacy of the work.[59]

Within a lyric-interpolated work, an author could evoke the authority of another poem or even another literary tradition through the citation of this work within his text. Similarly, he might combine fragments of different texts or traditions within his own narrative in order to effect a 'molt bele conjointure',[60] reminiscent of the scribe's *compilatio*.[61] When employed within a lyric-interpolated work, the principle of *conjointure* renders a significant effect upon the material involved, with one generic method being transposed onto another generic material and one literary situation being transferred onto another 'that had perhaps never before been associated with it'.[62] Through the utilisation of this device, an author or compiler is enabled to blend and reorder a variety of existing literary materials in order to create new structures and poetic images with which to embellish his work. Indeed, the lyric-interpolated tradition is characterised by this generic interplay. By conjoining previously unrelated material within a lyric-interpolated work, an author could suggest fresh ways of viewing and understanding this material, creating from it new themes and ideas which guide the audience into different methods of understanding and interpretation. Thus, *conjointure* relies upon the reader's active participation in the work, perceiving implied meanings that neither component, on its own, could convey.

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[58] See ibid., 91.
[59] For more information, see Michelle A. Freeman, *The Poetics of* Translatio Studii *and* Conjointure: *Chrétien de Troyes's* Cligés (Lexington, 1979), 49.
[60] 'very beautiful conjoining', Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ed. Mario L. G. Roques, in *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes Édités d'après la Copie de Guiot (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 794)*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1952), i. v. 14, quoted in Huot, *From Song to Book*, 5. For more information on *conjointure*, see Freeman, *Poetics*; F. Douglas Kelly, *Sens and Conjointure in the* Chevalier de la Charette (The Hague, 1966).
[61] See Alistair J. Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions of *Compilatio* and the Role of the *Compilator*', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 101 (1979), 385-421; Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford, 1976), 115-41.
[62] Freeman, *Poetics*, 16.

In writing the *Ludus*, Adam has created the literary situations that allow the reader to make connections and discern their meanings. For his part, Adam supplies the various components with which the *Ludus* is constructed and, as will be discussed below, indicates to the reader the method of reading that he should use. The reader, like the author, has a certain duty towards the text and will only gain a full sense of the work's meaning if he is prepared to give something of himself to the work. As with *contrafacta*, the reader's memory plays a significant part in the device of *conjointure*, supplying coherence and continuity between different works and within the work itself. Thus, by engaging with the text and participating in an informed reading, the reader contributes to the 'reconstruction and ... renewal' of the narrative and is then able to decipher its various meanings.[63] Through this joint collaboration between Adam and his reader, the *conjointure* is brought about between the various aspects of the text, between the parts and the whole, and between author and reader.[64]

In their selection of musical items to insert into their narratives, authors of lyric-interpolated *romans* drew heavily on the principle of *compilatio*. Encouraged by a desire to render authoritative material more accessible, compilations presented excerpts from important works in a 'convenient and pre-digested way'.[65] These compilations served a variety of functions, providing expositions of didactic texts for preaching and teaching as well as supplying encapsulations of moral truths and wisdom suitable for personal meditation and study. In addition to offering scholars an expedient means of accessing the *auctoritates*, the *compilationes* presented those readers who lacked the inclination or ability to tackle the *originalia* with a distillation of its most note-worthy sayings.[66] In order to facilitate an ease of reference and retrieval of information, compilers developed various methods of organisation and cross-referencing of material, subsequently used to great effect in lyric-interpolated works.

By the thirteenth century, the practice of *compilatio* had become well-established and widely recognised as a specific literary activity,[67] exerting a significant influence upon the lyric-interpolated tradition. For the composers of such lyric-interpolated works, the act of *compilatio* enabled them to construct new works out of old material. Within their

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[63] Ibid., 69.
[64] Ibid., 64-5.
[65] Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions', 387.
[66] Ibid., 402-3.
[67] Ibid., 420.

narratives they arranged the *auctoritates* in a new context, fashioning from this material new layers of meaning which, in turn, required a new method of reading. This widespread use of *contrafacta*, *conjointure* and *compilatio* within the corpus of lyric-interpolated narratives reflects the importance ascribed by medieval authors to literary models as a way of creating meaning and imbuing a work with authority. One of the chief aims of the thirteenth-century poet/compiler was the creation of new and innovative methods of engaging with, and responding to, these models and, for the audience, much of the pleasure derived was the pleasure of recognition. Indeed, these concepts of recognition, remembrance and recollection are key to the way in which the lyric-interpolated narratives, and especially their musical insertions, are to be viewed and understood and provide the central techniques required for decoding the information which they embody.

The dual character of a musical interpolation as both a part of a composite work and as a composition in its own right suggests a number of possible readings. Within this corpus of works, lyric text and music are frequently employed as visual prompts, directing the attention of the audience beyond the narrative and forcing an intertextual reading. As the *contrafacta* circulated independently of the narrative into which they were inserted, they would have been heard by different audiences in a variety of contexts, thereby acquiring many strands of meaning and association which infused the songs with their own identity. Thus, when incorporated within a narrative structure, the lyrics enlarge its frame of reference, bringing with them other implications and weaving a web of intertextual resonances between a number of works, both lyric and narrative. This intertextuality operates in a similar fashion on the level of the individual work, within which the various aspects of the manuscript – narrative text, lyric texts, music, illuminations, rubrics – interact with each other, emphasising and expanding the individual themes of each constituent part. Lyric and narrative text engage in dialogue, commenting upon and challenging one other in order to reveal hidden meanings.[68] This is evident within the *Ludus*, in which different components of the manuscript resonate with each other, 'reinforcing and developing the meaning of each portion'.[69] Adam's musical insertions, and the resonances which they evoke, call to each other throughout the text, drawing the reader deeper into the inner dynamics of the work. Through his inserted items, Adam

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[68] Mikhail Bakhtin has coined the term 'dialogical' to describe the connections between the different types of language combined in a single work: see Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogical Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, 1981).
[69] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, '*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis*: Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies*, 53.

challenges his reader to undertake the quest offered by the narrative and to solve the various puzzles embedded within the musical insertions, through which the real significance of the work may be discerned.

III: Images of Insertion

In the treatise *Ad Herennium*, its author advises that the introduction of a work should 'shape the state of mind of the reader so that he might willingly and fittingly undertake what lies ahead';[70] the author must 'create his audience to suit the text'.[71] In order to do so, the treatise recommends that a prologue should provide the reader with an entry into the world of the work by outlining its themes, methods of communication and purpose.[72] This principle is seen clearly in many lyric-interpolated *romans*, with authors supplying numerous clues scattered throughout their works to guide their readers towards its true sense. One of the chief ways in which authors indicate their narrative and compositional strategy is through the images they utilise to describe the act of inserting music into their narrative and employing citations, either musical, textual or both. Such figures usually occur within the opening passage of a work where the author sets out the parameters for the text to follow:

> The occasions when an author may be expected to reveal how he anticipates his work being received are those passages where he stands back from narrating and turns towards the audience. They are above all the prologue, where he presents his work and seeks to gain their attention, and the epilogue, where he takes leave, recommending his work and hoping for their thanks.[73]

From such sections may be gleaned an indication of the way in which an author intends his insertions to function within his narrative, thereby signalling the method required to read and interpret their contents.

Perhaps the best known and most frequently studied prologue is that of Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole*. In this opening passage, Renart outlines a number of reasons

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[70] Freeman, *Poetics*, 21; 'Exordium est principium rationis, per quod animus auditoris constituitur ad audiendum', Pseudo-Cicero, *Ad Herennium: De Ratione Dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), I.iii.4.
[71] Freeman, *Poetics*, 21.
[72] Ibid.; *Ad Herennium*, I.iv.7.
[73] Dennis H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800 - 1300* (Cambridge, 1994), 57.

for his inclusion of songs within his romance: for the sake of remembrance,[74] to differentiate it from other works,[75] and so that the uneducated will not be able to understand it,[76] suggesting that a correct interpretation of the work will require consideration and study. Also emphasised by Renart's prologue is a 'new self-consciousness about the significance of writing songs',[77] ascribing to his insertions a new form of musical transmission that is both oral and written: 'all those who hear it sung and read will enjoy it'.[78] The *Roman de la Violette* similarly stresses in its prologue its ingenious combination of different modes of communication and reception:

> Et s'est li contes biaus et gens,
> Que je vous voel dire et conter,
> Car on i puet lire et chanter.
>
> (And this story which I want to recite and tell to you is fine and noble because it can be both sung and read).[79]

The image employed by Renart to represent the act of musical insertion is that of putting red dye into a cloth in order to make it beautiful:

> Car aussi com l'en met la graine
> Es dras por avoir los et pris,
> Einsi a il chans et sons mis
> En cestui *Romans de la Rose*.
>
> (For just as one puts red dye into cloth to give it honour and worth, so he has put songs and music in this *Romance of the Rose*).[80]

Bolton proposes that this analogy between the songs and dye to colour cloth serves as a reference to the fundamental rhetorical principle of stylistic ornament or *ornatus*.[81] Previously employed by Geoffroi de Vinsauf in his *Poetria Nova* (composed 1200-1212),[82] this imagery is used to represent rhetorical figures as 'colours' and 'garments' with which speech may be adorned. By describing his songs as the 'dye' in the fabric of his text, Renart aligns his insertions with figures of speech or colours of rhetoric,[83] depicting them

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[74] 'ramenbrance', Lecoy edition, v. 3.
[75] 'et s'est des autres si divers', ibid., v. 13.
[76] 'que vilains nel porroit savoir', ibid., v. 15.
[77] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 19.
[78] 'tuit cil s'en esjoirent / qui chanter et lire l'orrant', Lecoy edition, vv. 21-2.
[79] Buffum ed., lines 36-8; trans. Butterfield, in *Poetry and Music*, 22.
[80] vv. 8-11; trans. Boulton, in *Song in the Story*, 11.
[81] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 12.
[82] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *The Poetria Nova*, trans. Margaret F. Nims (Toronto, 1967). See also James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), 168-73.
[83] Boulton, *Song in the Story*, 13.

as embellishments which reinforce the central themes of his narrative. Rather than the more usual forms of ornament, Renart employs borrowed colours, creating a new category of rhetorical figure.[84] This image of red dye is one of a programme of textile metaphors which reveals a further dimension of the insertions within the narrative.[85] Throughout *Guillaume de Dole* are many references and detailed descriptions concerning fabric and clothing, which are employed, Caroline Jewers suggests, to highlight the status of the lyric insertions within the text:

> D'escarlate noir come meure
> Ot robe fresche a pene hermine;
> Mout soef flerant et mout fine.
>
> (Guillaume had a new cloak of a cloth as dark as blackberry, lined with ermine, very sweet-smelling and fine).[86]

> La pene n'iert grise ne vaire,
> Ainz ert soef fleranz et fine,
> De noirs sebelins et d'ermine.
>
> (The lining was neither squirrel nor miniver, but of black sable and ermine, sweet-scented and fine).[87]

Of the numerous allusions to garments and textiles, a great many place an unusual emphasis upon its normally unseen lining, described it in as much, if not more, detail than the fabric itself. Whilst highlighting the significance of the musical insertions 'entwined' in the work, it seems that the frequent references to cloth with remarkable lining invites the audience to 'look beneath the woven surface to an interpretative layer beneath'.[88]

In his *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Gautier de Coinci employs a distinctive image with which to describe his inserted lyrics. In the prologue, his songs are depicted as flowers which he has culled from his meadow and planted in his book: 'Des floretes de mon prael, / S'ele santé me donne et livre, / Tout enflorer volrai cest livre'.[89] This image is

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[84] Ibid.
[85] See Caroline Jewers, 'Fabric and Fabrication: Lyric and Narrative in Jean Renart's *Roman de la Rose*', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 907-24.
[86] Lecoy edition, vv. 1530-2; translation by Caroline Jewers, in 'Fabric and Fabrication', 919.
[87] Ibid., vv. 5352-5; trans. Jewers, in 'Fabric and Fabrication', 921.
[88] Jewers, 'Fabric and Fabrication', 922. Indeed, the image of clothing, especially that which is covered in embroidery, is often used to allude to the idea of textual 'fabric' with several layers of signification (see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 196). This is pertinent to the *Ludus* with its detailed description of Nature, her Virtues and the Liberal Arts adorned with beautiful gowns embroidered with images of their character or art.
[89] 'With blossoms from my meadow, if she gives and grants me health, I will wrap this book', Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, 1 Pro 2, vv. 42-4; translation by Kathryn A. Duys, in *Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the Miracles de Nostre Dame of Gautier de Coinci* (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1997), 58.

reflected in Adam's *Ludus* and draws upon a similar tradition. In the prologue, whilst describing the conditions under which he began his re-writing of the *Anticlaudianus*, Adam portrays himself as going to pick flowers in the meadow of Alan of Lille.[90] The positioning of this trope at the beginning of the work suggests that he is setting out his narrative strategy and signalling to his audience his method of composition. This 'flower' image is one of the most widespread tropes used in the Middle Ages and it appears in a variety of works, both sacred and secular.[91] Many patristic authors used the idea of a garden as an organisational paradigm for their works, taking as their models the two biblical gardens, the Garden of Eden and the garden in the Song of Solomon.[92] Indeed, in their sermons on the Song of Solomon, both Bernard of Clairvaux and Adam of St Victor created an allegorical garden as a structural framework within which to organise their writing.[93] This trope was subsequently appropriated by a number of vernacular poets; for example, Chrétien de Troyes' *Roman de Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* commences with a 'cultivation' trope,[94] whilst in the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, the entire action of the romance occurs in a garden. These textual gardens recall the tradition of *florilegia* which provides a useful context for understanding the nature and function of Adam's lyric citations.

The word *florilegium*, evoking the image of blossoms picked from a field, denotes a collection of extracts and citations derived from authoritative works intended to serve as material for meditation and study. The culled 'flowers' also acted as memory cues to prompt the recollection of texts that had previously been read, in order to provide a point of comparison or expansion for the work being studied. *Florilegia* reflect an 'approach to canonical texts that is often characterised as typically medieval', with texts mined for 'moral lessons, wise sayings and examples of rhetorical figures'.[95] Frequently employed as aids to sermon writing, citations would be selected due to their ability to convey the particular argument in a compelling and effective way, encapsulating its essence in a memorable aphorism. Indeed, a sermon preached by Peter, Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, was praised for being 'adorned with flowers of words and sentences and supported by a

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[90] See Bayart, *Ludus*, 3, *1*.
[91] For an examination of the use of this trope in the Middle Ages, see Duys, *Books Shaped by Song*, 58-66.
[92] Ibid., 59.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal*, ed. Felix Lecoy, in *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1972-5), v. vv. 1-8.
[95] Sylvia Huot, *The* Roman de la Rose *and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge, 1993), 60.

copious array of authorities'.[96] By inserting these 'flowers' into their new compositions, authors provided their works with scholarly ornamentation and authority derived from their cited *auctores*.

When viewed within this context, it is obvious that Adam intended his own lyric 'flowers' to function in a similar way. His *contrafacta* serve as *auctoritas* to which he could refer in order to expand the *Ludus*' frame of reference. Similarly, through their citation, Adam was able to draw upon on the traditions from which they derive, inviting comparison with his own narrative. Adam evidently expected his audience to engage with his citations, recalling their original contexts and considering their associated resonances. Indeed, his insertions actively encourage participation in making meaning from its readers, drawing them in and rendering them an integral part of the narrative. The insertions also function as a gloss, offering an expansive commentary upon the narrative and amplifying its allegorical interpretation. Encapsulating the key features of the *Ludus*, the insertions provide a summary of its contents designed in such a way as to be easily memorable. During the thirteenth century, memory was identified with the formation of moral virtues, particularly the learning by heart of Scripture and moral or virtuous texts.[97] One way in which this memorisation was achieved was through the aid of *murmur*, 'mouthing the words subvocally as one turns the text over in one's memory'.[98] With their musical accompaniments, often based upon popular melodies, Adam's lyric insertions would have been all the more easy and enjoyable to memorise, through singing them over to oneself. By positioning this 'floral' image in the prologue, Adam provides a variety of clues to the purpose of the *Ludus*, his artistic convictions, and the methods used to transmit them to his audience. He invites his audience to ramble in the meadows of the *Ludus*, and encourages them to gather 'flowers' for their own meditation.

This trope of picking flowers from the meadow of Alan of Lille reveals another aspect of Adam's artistic intentions. Although shorter in length than Alan's original, Adam presents his work as an *amplificatio*, a transformative expansion of a pre-existing work, situating the *Ludus* firmly within the tradition of literary intervention. This reworking of texts, this *remaniement,* was a fundamental aspect of medieval textuality,[99] with several

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[96] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1964), 248.
[97] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990; repr. 1996), 156.
[98] Ibid., 164.
[99] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 18.

Old French texts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries being styled as continuations. One of the central models for *remaniement* is the *Roman de la Rose*, begun by Guillaume de Lorris, who apparently died before finishing his work, and continued and adapted by Jean de Meun several years later.[100] Striving for coherence, Jean 'authorised' his continuation by interpolating into Guillaume's story an episode in which the God of Love foretells Guillaume's death and the completion of the work by Jean.[101] In the years since its completion, the *Rose* has variously been expanded, abridged, 'reorganised, rubricated, glossed and annotated' and at these times it is clear to see medieval readers interacting with the work.[102] This text held a special status for medieval scribes, functioning as a model for numerous works during this period which evoked its authority.[103]

Adam participates in an established literary tradition, at the heart of which is the transformation or rearrangement of literary precedents found in other works. By positioning his work within this tradition, evoking the status of the *Anticlaudianus*, Adam pervades the *Ludus* with authority and legitimacy. Adam's reading culminates in a renewal of Alan's text, refashioned according to the expectation of his audience.[104] He adheres to a set of established conventions which would have been recognisable to his readers, who, in turn, would have been equipped to interpret them. Familiar with the intertextual character of medieval literacy, they would have approached the *Ludus* using a method of reading in which 'numerous texts, both explicitly and implicitly present could comment upon one another'.[105]

Adam's flower-gathering trope has further literary connotations, identifying the *Ludus* with an aesthetic of exhausted novelty prevalent in medieval literature. Reaching its peak in fourteenth-century vernacular poetry, it can be traced back to the beginning of the

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[100] For an examination of the practice of literary continuation, see David Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First* Roman de la Rose (Cambridge, 1986).
[101] Other authors found equally inventive methods for provoking continuation: for example, in Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du Graal*, the work ends mid-sentence with the suggestion that the author has died, inspiring various other writers to provide alternate endings.
[102] Huot, *Roman de la Rose*, 18.
[103] One such work was *Le Roman de Fauvel* which, begun by Gervais de Bus and reworked and expanded by Chaillou de Pesstain, aligns itself with the model of dual authorship in the *Rose* and draws on its literary heritage. The interaction between the *Rose* and *Fauvel* enables Chaillou to attribute to himself ultimate authority over the text as its author-compiler. A detailed account of this is given in Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 70-79.
[104] Freeman, *Poetics*, 12.
[105] Huot, *Roman de la Rose*, 235.

thirteenth century, where Gui d'Ussel articulates the problem thus: 'Mas re no trob q'autra vez dit no sia' (But I find nothing that others have not already said).[106] This perception appears to have gathered momentum during the thirteenth century, so that by the fourteenth century Jean le Fèvre was moved to declare that 'there is nothing new under the sun' (soubz le soleil n'est rien nouvel).[107] Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, in her study of this literary current, writes that during this period poets shared a widespread concern that there was a shortage of original literary material and that their inspiration was becoming exhausted.[108] In *Le Champion des Dames,* Martin le France proposes a possible solution to this crisis:

> Item, on a fait tant de choses
> Qu'on ne scet mais a quoy muser.
> On a fait textes, or a gloses
> Composer fault le temps user.
>
> (Similarly, [writers] made so many things that now [they] hardly know what to amuse [themselves] with. [They] have made texts; now we need to spend our time composing glosses).[109]

As a result of this concern, the act of writing often took the form of compilation or re-use, and borrowing became a compositional technique, with authors either employing extracts derived from earlier works or reusing their own writings. Established literary works were now viewed as the 'construction material' of new literature, as demonstrated in this proverb quoted by Jean de Bueil in *Le Jouvencel*: 'De vieil mesrien neufve maison' (A new house from old wood).[110] The most popular image employed by these poets to express their literary dilemma was that of the gleaner, 'gathering up strands of grain left by the great harvesters of the past'.[111] Adam's use of this image in his prologue highlights this act of rewriting, emphasising its importance to our understanding of the *Ludus*: likening himself to Ruth in the fields of Boaz, he wanders in the meadow of his most excellent master Alan of Lille, picking sweet-smelling flowers:

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[106] *Les Poésies des Quatre Troubadours d'Ussel*, ed. Jean Audiau (Paris, 1922), line 6, cited in Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *The Color of Melancholy: The Uses of Books in the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore, 1997), 52.
[107] Jean le Fevre, *Respit de la Mort*, ed. Geneviève Hasenohr-Esnos (Paris, 1969), line 11, translation by Cerquiglini-Toulet, in *Color of Melancholy*, 92.
[108] See Cerquiglini-Toulet, *Color of Melancholy*, xiv.
[109] See Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 12476, fol. 98, cited in Cerquiglini-Toulet, *Color of Melancholy*, 54.
[110] Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel: Suivi du Commentaire de Guillaume Tringant*, ed. Leon Lecestre (Paris, 1887-9), in Cerquiglini-Toulet, *Color of Melancholy*, 67.
[111] Roger Chartier, 'Introduction', in *Color of Melancholy*, xv.

> Sic Ruth, ... temporibus messium, Booz campum adiit. Ego ... pratum famosissimi quodam viri et gratiæ excellentis magistri Alani de Insula adii, ut in eo colligerem flores odoriferos et prædulces.[112]

The use of this trope originated with Bernard of Clairvaux, who borrowed it from the Book of Ruth in order to preach humility to monks: 'The great reapers are St Augustine, St Jerome, and St Gregory, and those who come after them should remain in the ranks of the poor and the servants'.[113] During the thirteenth century, this image was adopted by vernacular poets who employed it to describe the difficulty of renewing literary subject matter, as demonstrated by the author of *Avionnet*:

> Je, qui suis des autres le pis,
> Après le grain, cuil les espis,
> Si comme fist Ruth la courtoise.
>
> (I, who am the worst of all, after the grain, pick up the ears, as did the gentle Ruth).[114]

Employed at the very outset of the *Ludus,* this biblical figure sets the moralistic tone for that which is to follow. Furthermore, it enables Adam to set forth his compositional approach, providing guidance as to the interpretation of his work. Depicting his authorial act as being one of gleaning from Alan's original work, this trope legitimises the *Ludus* with an authority derived from the status of the original. Adam makes it quite clear to his readers that this is to be a re-writing, a 'gathering up' of any aspects of the narrative that are left after Alan's harvest. But, unlike the *Anticlaudianus*, this work is to be embroidered throughout with beautiful, fragrant 'lyric flowers', many of which similarly evoke the originals upon which they are made. These concepts of re-writing and re-creation form an important part of the poetics of the whole and are crucial to understanding how the work would have been received.

IV: Traditions of Reading and Writing

In designing and writing the *Ludus*, Adam chose to align his work with various literary and poetic conventions through which he could signal to his audience the way he intended his work to be received. A further method employed by Adam to communicate

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[112] Bayart, *Ludus*, 3, *1*.
[113] *Inédits Bernadins dans un Manuscrit d'Orval*, quoted in Jean Leclercq, *L'Amour des Lettres et le Désir de Dieu: Initiation aux Auteurs Monastiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1957), 191, trans. Catharine Misrahi, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York, 1982), 249.
[114] In vol. 2 of *Recueil Général des Isopets*, ed. Julia Bastin (Paris, 1930), 382, lines 19-21, trans. Cerquiglini-Toulet, in *Color of Melancholy*, 55.

meaning and intention to his audience is through the form in which his text is presented. Throughout the pages of the *Ludus*' manuscript can be seen the influence of contemporary developments in orality and literacy, shaping the techniques used by Adam to record his work on the parchment. In its manuscript context, the *Ludus* yields a variety of clues regarding the purpose for which it was created and, through various pointers written into his text, Adam signals towards the form(s) of reception that he envisaged for his work, drawing upon contemporaneous perceptions of 'the book'. In order to assess the *Ludus* as a manuscript there follows a brief survey of the reading habits of this period, focussing upon the identification of specific characteristics that indicate different modes of reception.

In her study of reading habits in medieval England and France, Joyce Coleman concludes that orality was not due to 'low literacy and limited access to manuscripts' as is often supposed,[115] but rather proposes that reading aloud to a group of listeners was a choice made by literate and sophisticated audiences. According to this model, it becomes apparent that both orality and aurality existed alongside literacy, as opposed to the common misconception that the latter replaced the former.[116] Leo Treitler similarly stresses that during the Middle Ages the relationship between oral (or aural) and written traditions was 'far more complex and more subtle than a straightforward dichotomy'.[117] Throughout his writing on both plainchant and poetry,[118] he argues against a sudden shift from one mode of composition and performance to another, suggesting instead a 'continuity of practice from the oral to the written stage', in which 'oral composition' and performance continued long after reading, writing and recording in writing became popular.[119] Oral and literate processes thus interacted and overlapped with each other: writing was initially introduced into oral traditions and, far from displacing those traditions, it 'assumed a role

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[115] Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, 1996), 1.
[116] Orality – tradition of oral performance by a minstrel etc.; aurality – dependence on a written text as a source for public reading.
[117] Leo Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Music of the Middle Ages', in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford, 2003), 237.
[118] For a detailed examination of the interplay of oral and written traditions and practices in the transmission, performance and recording of medieval music, and especially plainchant, see 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process', in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 230-51. In 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', (in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 131-85), Treitler discusses the correspondence between the role of orality in the transmission of poetry and plainchant. For an exploration of the function of orality in the generative process, performance and transmission of the secular corpus of the trouvère repertory, see Mary O'Neill, 'The Melodic Art of the Trouvères: Orality and the Question of Melodic Variants', in O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertory* (Oxford, 2006), 53-92.
[119] Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process', 238.

within them',[120] functioning 'in support of, rather than in competition with, the oral performance tradition'.[121] Likewise, written transmission could still involve oral processes, with literate notators 'copying and remembering and composing, all at once'.[122] Both music and poetry could be received aurally, retained within the memory and then either performed orally or transferred to writing for others to access visually.[123]

Much has been written on what constitutes proof of orality, ranging across numerous genres of medieval literature and music, both sacred and secular.[124] The two features frequently identified as signifiers of a work derived from an oral tradition, designed to be performed orally in the presence of an audience (as opposed to those works created primarily for a visual, literate reception) are repetition and the use of formulae.[125] Treitler explains that in order to facilitate their oral reproduction,[126] such works utilise mnemotechnical apparatus woven into their narratives[127] in the form of traditional themes and formulae used to express essential subject matters and episodes common to the corpus.[128] These would enable a reciter to remember such works and reconstruct them 'from memory', developing each formulaic scene or episode in verse.[129] Within the context

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[120] Ibid., 245. Treitler examines the interplay between oral and literate processes in the composition and transmission of plainchant but expands his discussion to encompass the tradition of oral poetry: see 239-40, 245-6; also 'Homer and Gregory', 135-7, 150-1, 169-72. For a similar discussion of the interaction between orality and literacy within the sphere of trouvère song, see O'Neill, 'The Interaction of Oral, Written, and Literate Processes', in O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 174-205.

[121] Treitler, 'The Early History of Music Writing in the West', in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 317-64, at 329.

[122] Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process', 242.

[123] Ibid., 244. Treitler suggests that, in this context, writing down can be viewed as a counterpart of performance, with the written score serving as an 'exemplification ... to be taken more as a model for performance than as a blueprint': 'Early History of Music Writing', 329.

[124] See John M. Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (Columbus, 1980); Albert B. Lord, 'Perspectives on Recent Work on the Oral Traditional Formula', *Oral Traditions*, 1 (1986), 467-503. For a detailed survey of this literature, see O'Neill, 'Melodic Art of the Trouvères', in O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 54-5.

[125] It should be noted that there is some disagreement over what constitutes a formula and what constitutes repetition in both literature and music: this is discussed in Lord, 'Perspectives on Recent Work on the Oral Traditional Formula'; see also Michael Curshmann, 'The Concept of the Oral Formula as an Impediment to our Understanding of Medieval Oral Poetry', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS 8 (1977), 63-76; John M. Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington, 1988).

[126] In 'Homer and Gregory', Treitler explores the means by which a work in an oral tradition is recalled and performed: on page 135, he cites David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-Out Rhymes* (Oxford, 1985), 12, who explains that this recall is serial – 'it starts at the first word and proceeds sequentially to the end' with each word or phrase cueing that which is to follow.

[127] Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 137.

[128] For more information on the use of formulaic systems within oral composition, see ibid., 170. See also Treitler, 'Lingering Questions about "Oral Literature"', in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 202-10 and especially 209 where Treitler highlights Joseph Duggan's discussion of the use of formulae in the *Chanson de Roland*; for further information, see Joseph Duggan, 'Formulaic Language and Mode of Creation', in John M. Foley (ed.), *Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook* (New York, 1990), 83-108.

[129] Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 170.

of such a performance, the presence of a reciter, who could be the author, a priest or a minstrel, depending on the genre of the work, mediates between the work and the audience, possibly extemporising, adding elements of presentation and interpretation. As both the speaker and his listeners are located in the same place, 'deictic pointers' may be relied upon to reinforce this communication.[130] With both parties sharing the same visual and acoustic space, the possibility arises for non-verbal communication, either visual – miming or gestures, or acoustic – intonation or accentuation.[131] Similarly, there is also the potential for dialogue, questions and explanations, answering queries and clarifying unclear passages. The audience may be invoked in a variety of ways: with an announcement that the work is about to commence, through a direct address at the beginning of the work or a subsequent invitation to participate in the work through an exhortation to pay attention or listen. There may also be an attempt to situate the performance of the work temporally.[132] Such references provide evidence that the author anticipated his work being presented as a live performance event in front of an audience.

In contrast, written communication is normally intended to be read by individuals, on occasions being written for, and addressed to, a specific patron, and can often be recognised through authorial recommendation as to how the reader should react to his work.[133] There may also be guidance to collate two passages in order to examine their relationship, or to consult the source or other texts.[134] As written communication is freed from the restrictions of shared time and place, it has the ability to extend to the past and the future and to 'travel' to other locations. However, the deictic pointers that are intelligible in a face-to-face presentation have to be replaced by explicit linguistic references: 'a written text remains silent beyond what is written and cannot be asked questions by its reader ... so that the careful writer has to anticipate such questions and write his answers into the text in advance'.[135] Even if writing primarily for a performance, authors knew their text would be preserved in written form which would visibly dominate the experience, guiding the audience's interpretation. In the same way, the audience's awareness of the book before them led to an increased sense of the authority of the text and the role of the author as

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[130] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 61.
[131] Ibid.
[132] For examples of these features used within the trouvère repertory, see O'Neill, 'Melodic Art of the Trouvères', in O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 57-8.
[133] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 123.
[134] However, this may just be an attempt on the author's part to display his literate learning.
[135] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 113.

mediator of the traditions represented within his work.[136] The knowledge that texts were preserved in book format heightened the audience's consciousness of interplay and intertextual referencing between various works, encouraging their participation in the renewal and recreation of the text. Designing a work to be read opens up numerous avenues for creative exploration, enabling the construction of an intricate text requiring a detailed reading. Unlike a work for performance, the written medium allows the author to plan carefully, to revise, correct and insert details over time, crafting his work into a complex vehicle of communication.

Combining written and oral communication is an intermediary mode of reception, in which a reader reads aloud from a written text; thus, communication takes place from the writer, via the reciter, to the listener(s).[137] Reading aloud from a manuscript shares a number of features with both an oral and a literate reception. As in the acoustic situation, it shares the presence of listeners, reception by ear and dependence upon a reciter. However, like the literate mode of reception, it shares the fact of a manuscript which offers the possibility of reading, not just for the reciter but for 'any literate member of the audience who might gain access to the text'.[138] Authors who were aware of this situation might aim their book at both a collective audience and the solitary reader who, unlike the listeners but like the author, can proceed at his own pace and does not have to progress through the book chronologically but may turn backwards, compare passages and make connections.[139] This posed a significant challenge to the author to appeal to both his listeners and his readers. Authors often met this challenge by constructing works which could operate on a number of levels, containing various layers of meaning, each of which were revealed through a particular method of approaching the text.

This two-fold reception, both private and public, is at home within the context of clerical literature,[140] with works being read aloud in the refectory or schoolroom but also studied privately in the monks' cells. Indeed, medieval literacy itself was the prerogative of clerics who were able both to read and write and who exercised these skills in Latin. At various times within the daily routine of a religious order or academic college there would be a recital by a lector to ensure that, by listening to edifying texts, the monks should

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[136] Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public*, 28.
[137] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 170.
[138] Ibid., 171.
[139] Ibid., 172.
[140] Ibid., 190.

'reinforce themselves with spiritual pabulum as well as with material food'.[141] Supplementing this, monks were expected to practice *lectio*, a spiritual exercise in which their reading was interspersed by prayer and pauses for rumination on the text as a basis for *meditatio*. Orality and literacy, the public performance and private reading of a text, were equally important to a clerical community, with texts designed within and for such communities frequently combining aspects of both modes of reception, functioning concurrently on several levels.

The question remains as to what the *Ludus* indicates about the way in which Adam wished his work to be received. As it has no inscription to a patron and contains no mention of any names, it is unlikely that it was created for one particular person. Instead, written as a means of entertaining himself during an illness, it seems clear that Adam designed the *Ludus* for his fellow canons in the community of St Pierre; certainly, its moralistic themes and didactic tone are suited to a clerical reception. With its musical interpolations, dramatic plot and engaging characters, the *Ludus* would have been vastly entertaining when read aloud to an audience. Given its Latin text, the audience for such an enactment would require a certain degree of education (such as that possessed by the canons), although a less educated audience would undoubtedly have enjoyed a dramatic representation with musical interludes. Its inclusion of clearly and accurately presented musical notation for each item and detailed system of rubrication specifying the names of characters singing and the action taking place would have made such a performance possible. And yet, the written text of the *Ludus* contains a number of features key to its full interpretation which would be lost in an oral performance, only being discovered through a detailed and creative reading. As with many works produced within a clerical context, it appears that Adam designed his *Ludus* for a two-fold reception, both public and private, and therefore included elements which would appeal to both audiences. Given its religious and moral subject matter, the *Ludus* would have been perfectly appropriate for recitation in the refectory at St Pierre and it is quite possible that Adam had this form of delivery in mind when he conceived of his work. However, the attention paid to its physical appearance and layout, along with the complexity and intricacy of its inter-textual and -musical citation and thematic referencing, suggest that the *Ludus* was created above all as a text to be studied 'en livre', with its musical insertions designed to be interpreted within the three semantic matrices of music, text and form.

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[141] Ibid., 34.

V: The *Ludus* in Manuscript Context

In addition to its status as a text, the *Ludus*, preserved within a single manuscript thought to have been edited by Adam, must be considered as an artefact in its own right. Rather than simply mediating between the text and its audience, the *Ludus* manuscript can be viewed as one of the ways in which Adam communicates meaning. The past few decades have witnessed various developments in the fields of both literary criticism and medieval studies in terms of the study of the book.[142] Previously considered as 'ancillary' to the text it transmits, the book has been perceived as 'damaging the text in the very act of making it accessible'.[143] Yet, in recent years, scholars have shown an increased interest in the interpretation of books in which the relationship between textual meaning and the physical context of transmission is explored.[144] This is particularly true of manuscripts in which, unlike printed books, no two copies of the same text could ever be identical. Each successive copying of a text provided the scribe or editor with an opportunity to recreate it afresh.[145] Rather than viewing variations in texts and their layout within manuscripts as errors on the part of the scribe, they may be seen instead as 'symptoms of interpretive acts'.[146] Therefore, when examining a text in its manuscript format, it is vital to consider the relationship between its form and its meaning, performing a reading in which text, image and space are fully integrated, and placing a new emphasis upon the book as a site of interpretation.[147]

The effect of form on meaning was intrinsically linked with medieval modes of reading, 'both at the level of the internal disposition of texts (*ordinatio*) and their ordering with other texts in a book (*compilatio*)'.[148] From the twelfth century onwards, a number of developments occurred in the *mise-en-page* of texts, brought about by progressions in methods of scholarship and changes in attitudes to study. Different types of reading, i.e. monastic *lectio* as a basis for *meditatio*, and scholarly *lectio* in which texts were consulted

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[142] For a detailed account of these debates, see Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 30-3
[143] Ibid., 31.
[144] For more information, see Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*; Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford, 1994); Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, 1991). See also Huot, *From Song to Book.*
[145] See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 33; see also Poiron, 'Écriture et Ré-écriture'.
[146] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 31.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., 41.

for reference purposes,[149] required texts presented differently. This is reflected in various changes in aspects of layout and in the provision of apparatus for the academic reader.[150] During this period, the main academic 'tool' was the gloss. Malcolm Parkes cites the commentaries of Peter Lombard on the Psalter and Pauline Epistles as some of the most highly developed gloss books in which the entire system of indicating text, commentary, and sources was incorporated into the design of the page.[151]

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which witnessed a rapid growth of various kinds of academic literary activity, a number of research aids were introduced into texts, designed to facilitate the 'retrieval of information'.[152] There was a desire among scholars to organise the texts of their *auctores* in a more useful and functional way. A clearer page layout meant that it was far easier for the reader to understand the text and its purpose as well as trace subjects which were of particular interest.[153] In the thirteenth-century *Speculum Maius* by Vincent de Beauvais, Vincent expressed concern over the organisation of the *mise-en-page* of several of his works, complaining that many manuscripts are so muddled in their layout and presentation that it is not clear which *auctores* are being cited.[154] In order to avoid this confusion, he determined to organise his texts according to clear methods of arrangement, employing titles to guide the reader. Similarly, the names of the *auctores* were placed in the text rather than in the margins where they were frequently displaced.[155]

By the thirteenth century, there was a desire for source materials to be made available in a condensed form, highlighting the need for imposing a new *ordinatio* on the material for this purpose.[156] This resulted in the notion of *compilatio* as both a form of writing and as a way of rendering material easily accessible.[157] In a clerical, scholastic

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[149] For a more detailed exposition of different types of reading, see Malcolm B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), 35.
[150] Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, 35.
[151] Ibid., 36. See *Commentarius in Psalmos Davidicos,* in *PL*, cxci. 35-1296; *Collectanea in Epistolas Pauli,* in *PL*, cxcii. 9-520.
[152] Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions', 385.
[153] Ibid., 385-6.
[154] *Speculi Maioris: Generalis Prologus*, cap. i; Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions', 392-3; see Vincent de Beauvais, *Bibliotheca Mundi, seu Speculi Maioris Vincentii Burgundi Praesulis Bellovacensis, O.P. Tomus Secundus, qui Speculum Doctrinale Inscribitur* (Douai, 1624).
[155] Minnis, 'Late Medieval Discussions', 383.
[156] Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, 58.
[157] Ibid.

culture where much knowledge was learnt by heart,[158] the visual appearance and layout of texts were designed to function as an *aide memoire* in order to fix the text in the memory.[159] To aid their readers, scribes and compilers devised numerous strategies for organising texts within manuscripts, ranging from tables of contents based on systems of internal textual *ordinatio*, to ordering literary authorities according to their subject matter.[160]

Although in the vernacular traditions the devices of *compilatio* and *ordinatio* were not needed as academic requirements, they rapidly became part of a readerly aesthetic, with writers both within academic communities and outside employing and transforming these forms to suit their own academic or artistic purpose.[161] As the expectation of readers changed, so this was paralleled in the physical appearance of books, with numerous vernacular compendia and codices reflecting a similar desire to organise texts within a manuscript. Numerous relationships can be traced between poetics and manuscript format, and between scribal and poetic processes. In vernacular literature, as well as academic writing, the literary principles of *auctoritas*, *translatio* and *conjointure* operated on both the level of the poem and of the codex and were an essential part of creating meaning and imbuing a work with legitimacy.[162] To this end, the authority of a classical or vernacular poet could be evoked either by a collection of his works within an anthology or by a quotation within a single text. Within a codex, a scribe could 'effect a *conjointure* through the suggestive coupling of texts',[163] rewriting the individual texts into a meta-text in which meaning is created through the juxtaposition of its constituent parts. Codices were compiled using a number of organisational principles, ranging from basic groupings of thematically similar texts to an elaborate overall design,[164] in which the components were viewed not as individual texts but within a system of the 'architectonics' of the codex and

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[158] See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 3-7.

[159] Scholars such as Hugh of St Victor 'advised his students to seek out the structures in texts, to impress them on the mind, and then, as the number of books burgeoned, to look for signs in the texts themselves (illuminated capitals, rubric)' in order to remember them: Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 42; see Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York, 1991), III, 8, as discussed by Malcolm B. Parkes, '*Folio Librorum Quaere:* Medieval Experience of the Problems of Hypertext and the Index', in Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli and Francesco Santi (eds.), *Fabula in Tabula: Una Storia degli Indici dal Manoscritto al Testo Elletronico in Atti del Convegno di Studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini e della Fondazione IBM Italia, Certosa del Gallizzo, 21-22 Ottobre 1994* (Spoleto, 1995), 23-41.

[160] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 42.

[161] Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, 69.

[162] For further information, see Poiron, 'Écriture et Ré-écriture'.

[163] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 6.

[164] Ibid., 11.

the 'poetics' of the manuscript text.[165] This relationship between the 'microstructure of the individual text and the macrostructure of the anthology codex'[166] is echoed in the relationship that occurs between an individual lyric insertion and the lyric-interpolated work into which it is inserted. Many lyric-interpolated narratives exploit the simultaneity of the anthology codex or vernacular compendia as part of their signifying systems, creating works in which the various components of text, music and form communicate, enriching the meaning of each one.

These numerous developments in form and layout exerted a considerable influence upon the authors and compilers of lyric-interpolated *romans*, who adopted these new conventions and made them their own, employing them as a way of adding additional strands of meaning to their work. These inherited techniques of compiling and copying a work proved particularly influential upon the way in which the insertions themselves were recorded. The presence of music on the manuscript page is a striking visual expression of the difference between song and narrative and this was emphasised by the frequent use of red staves and notation. For the authors and compilers of these works, the presence of musical notation was 'as much a commentary on the distinction between the two genres as it [was] a representation of musical sound'.[167] Thus, various means were employed to highlight this differentiation further. Initials were often used within these manuscripts, not simply to register the presence of a song, but to emphasise the shift in performance. Other authors distinguished between song and narrative by the size of the script used for recording each one and, similarly, songs were frequently emphasised by being copied or underlined in red ink.[168]

Many of the elements employed in the *ordinatio* of inserted songs are clearly derived from contemporary developments in the layout of medieval academic books.[169] These similarities between the designs used for lyric-interpolated *romans* and scholastic texts reveal how the scribes who copied these works viewed the inserted songs. For instance, the use of red ink and underlining for the inset songs is reminiscent of the practice seen in the commentaries of Peter of Lombard on the Psalter and the Epistles of Paul in which the *lemmata* were underlined in red and the *auctores* cited were indicated by

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[165] Ibid., 5.
[166] Ibid., 15.
[167] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 181.
[168] Ibid., 183-4.
[169] Ibid., 185.

their names copied, in red ink, into the margins.[170] Likewise, the frequently used hierarchy of script was also commonly employed to distinguish *lemmata* and commentary in academic textbooks.[171] The use of initials to mark the opening of songs finds a parallel in the use of *litterae notabiliores* to mark the beginning of *sententiae*, whilst the employment of flourishes to denote the end of a song recalls the *positurae* or 'end-of-section' marks used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to signal the completion of a gloss.[172] It is apparent that the scribes copying these lyric-interpolated manuscripts saw the inserted songs as authoritative texts and as sources of explanation, which demanded particular attention and comment.[173] Their form and layout when copied into a manuscript is indicative of their role within the work, serving not merely as ornamentation but articulating the fundamental thematic scheme of the narrative.

Inherent in medieval literature was a duality of oral and visual reception in which the role of the book was called into question. The beauty, detail and visual complexity of many lyric-interpolated manuscripts suggest that they were designed to be viewed, but the texts contained, with their narratives interspersed with musical items, seem to have been intended to be received aurally.[174] This reflects a movement identified by Sylvia Huot from a performative to a writerly poetics,[175] in which the medieval illuminated manuscript took on a theatrical quality and, rather than merely describing events, began to 'stage' them,[176] reproducing within its pages a performance of the text. This progression from a recreation of a performance to a written document is reflected within the genre of the lyric-interpolated narrative. Whilst a number of these works, with their musical insertions and rubrics functioning as stage directions, seem to have been designed to facilitate performance, many of their narratives create meaning through their written form. Thus, the 'performance' that occurs is the one that takes place between the pages of the manuscript in which text, music, rubrics and image combine to 'enact' its contents. The page now becomes the site of performance upon which manuscripts stage their contents, framing individual scenes with page openings and illuminations.[177]

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[170] See Parkes, 'Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', 116.
[171] See Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), 27.
[172] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 186.
[173] Ibid., 187.
[174] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 1.
[175] See ibid.
[176] Ibid., 3.
[177] An example of this can be seen in the *Romanz de la Poire* in which each opening consists of an image and accompanying text and functions like a theatrical moment: for more details, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 177.

In committing the *Ludus* to parchment, Adam and his scribes were evidently influenced by many of these contemporaneous developments. In its manuscript context, as a written object, the physicality of the *Ludus*' text and music is implicated in its meaning. Adam's authorial and editorial involvement in the compilation and production of the manuscript provided him with a great deal of control over the *Ludus*, enabling him to assert intention throughout its pages. An examination of the *Ludus* manuscript reveals that much attention has been paid to its design and visual appearance, with a carefully-planned layout contrived to highlight particular aspects of the text. Despite its clarity and apparent simplicity, the skill involved in the *mise-en-page* of the *Ludus* should not be overlooked, 'given the work's novel, unique and generically complex character'.[178] The music is recorded scrupulously, whilst rubrics detail the sequence of events, the characters singing and, where necessary, the source of the *contrafacta*. In his design of the *Ludus*, Adam utilises numerous technical devices involved in the layout of scholarly literature as a means of suggesting the way in which his work should be approached. Throughout the text, he employs a hierarchical system of initials, including large ornamented initials to mark the beginning of a section, red or blue initials to denote a new subsection and black initials to distinguish paragraphs (see figure 2.1).

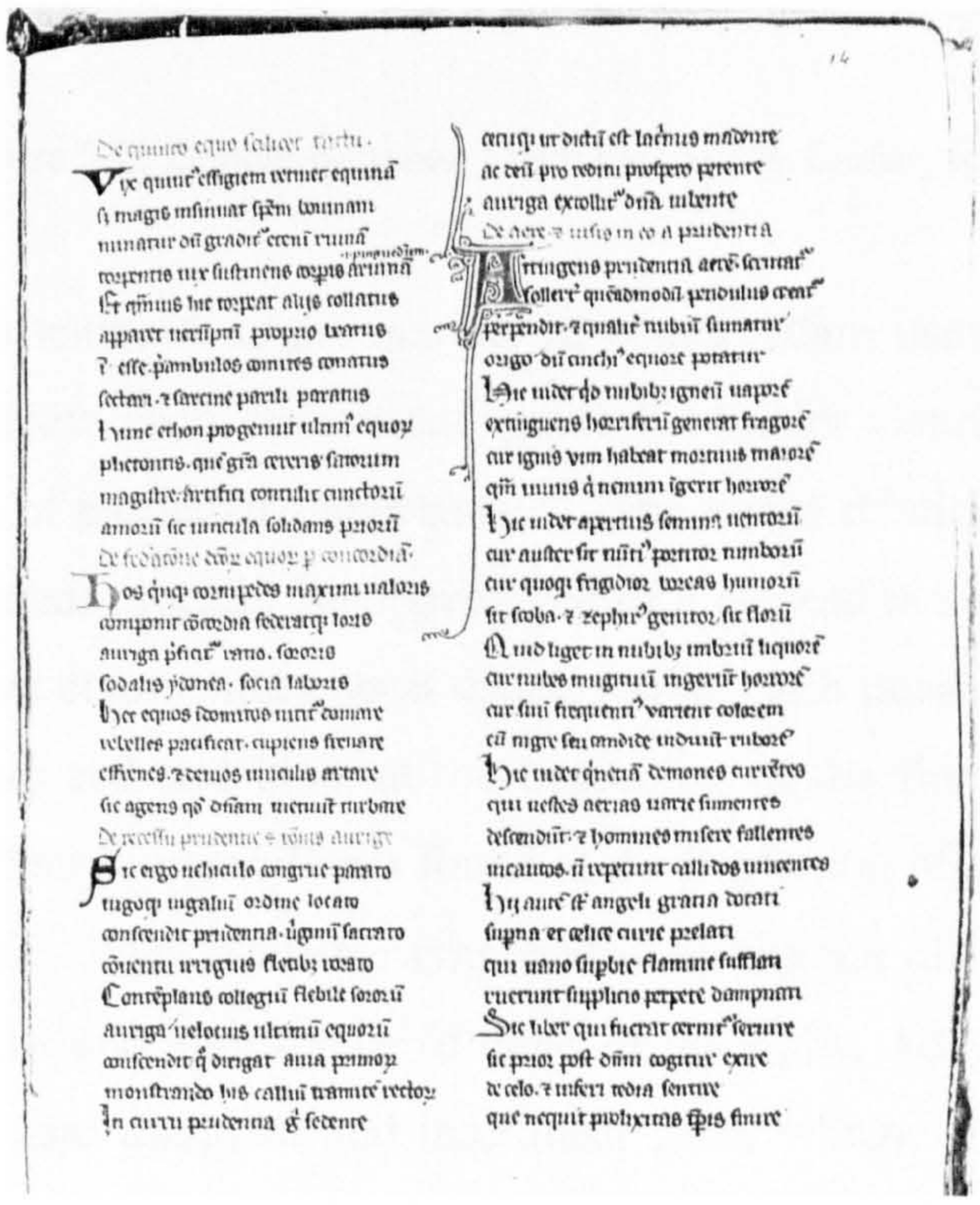

Figure 2.1: Hierarchical system of initials, *Ludus*, fol. 14r

[178] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 177.

At several points, the layout of the *Ludus* resembles that employed to record a scholarly dispute, with the names of the various protagonists recorded in the rubrics or margins, thus outlining the progress of the dialogue (see figure 2.2).[179]

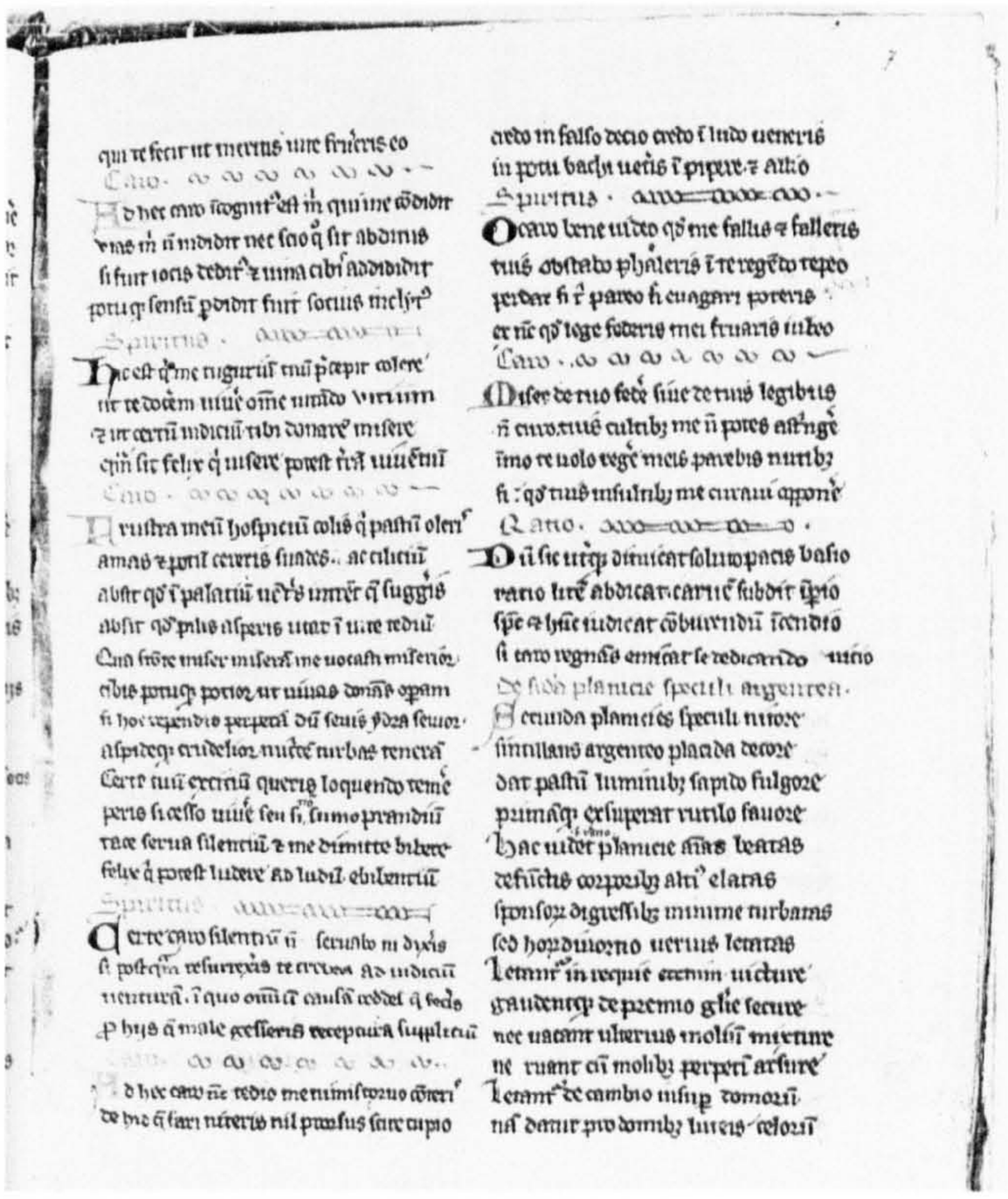

Figure 2.2: Debate between Flesh and Spirit, *Ludus*, fol. 7r

Also reminiscent of a textbook is the manner in which Adam uses various headings and subheadings to demarcate each section and guide his reader clearly throughout the text, highlighting passages of particular importance.[180] The visual relationship of the music and text on the page repeatedly recalls the appearance of a glossed manuscript, reinforcing the role of the insertions as commentary upon the narrative. Each musical item is marked by a large initial, alternately red and blue, at the beginning of the first stave, through which Adam alludes to the *litterae notabiliores* found at the beginning of *sententiae*, imbuing his insertions with authority. This is further emphasised by the use of red staves, ascribing to the insertions the status and appearance of cited *auctoritates*. Added to this, the detailed system of rubrication and marginal and interlinear gloss which, on numerous occasions, evoke the format of an academic textbook, present the contents of the *Ludus* as a text to be

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[179] See also the sequence sung by Prudence and Faith, fols. 26-26v.

[180] See the introduction to each Liberal Art, fols. 10-13, each of which is headed by various titles and subtitles.

read and studied in detail, tracing its cross-references and memorising its *auctoritates* (see figure 2.3).[181]

Figure 2.3: Use of coloured initials, rubrication and marginal titles, *Ludus*, fol. 18r

On occasion, the physical appearance of a page opening serves to 'stage' the action depicted in the narrative. In the first section, when Prudence passes by the saints assembled in heaven whilst the voice from earth offers praises and supplications, the musical insertions frequently follow on directly after each other, with only the briefest of rubrics to divide them (see figure 2.4). This juxtaposition of musical items, flowing from one song to the next, reflects the motion of Prudence greeting one saint after another and portrays the unending praise rising from the earth in their honour. Likewise, Prudence's journey is outlined with detailed rubrics which map out each stage of her voyage, illustrating her progression higher and higher through the heavens until she reaches the house of God. Along the way, Prudence asks her guide many questions regarding the nature of the universe and the answers are presented in a manner which echoes a scholastic text (see figure 2.5).

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[181] For examples of Adam's use of marginal and interlinear gloss, see fols. 9, 20, 21, 30v, 35.

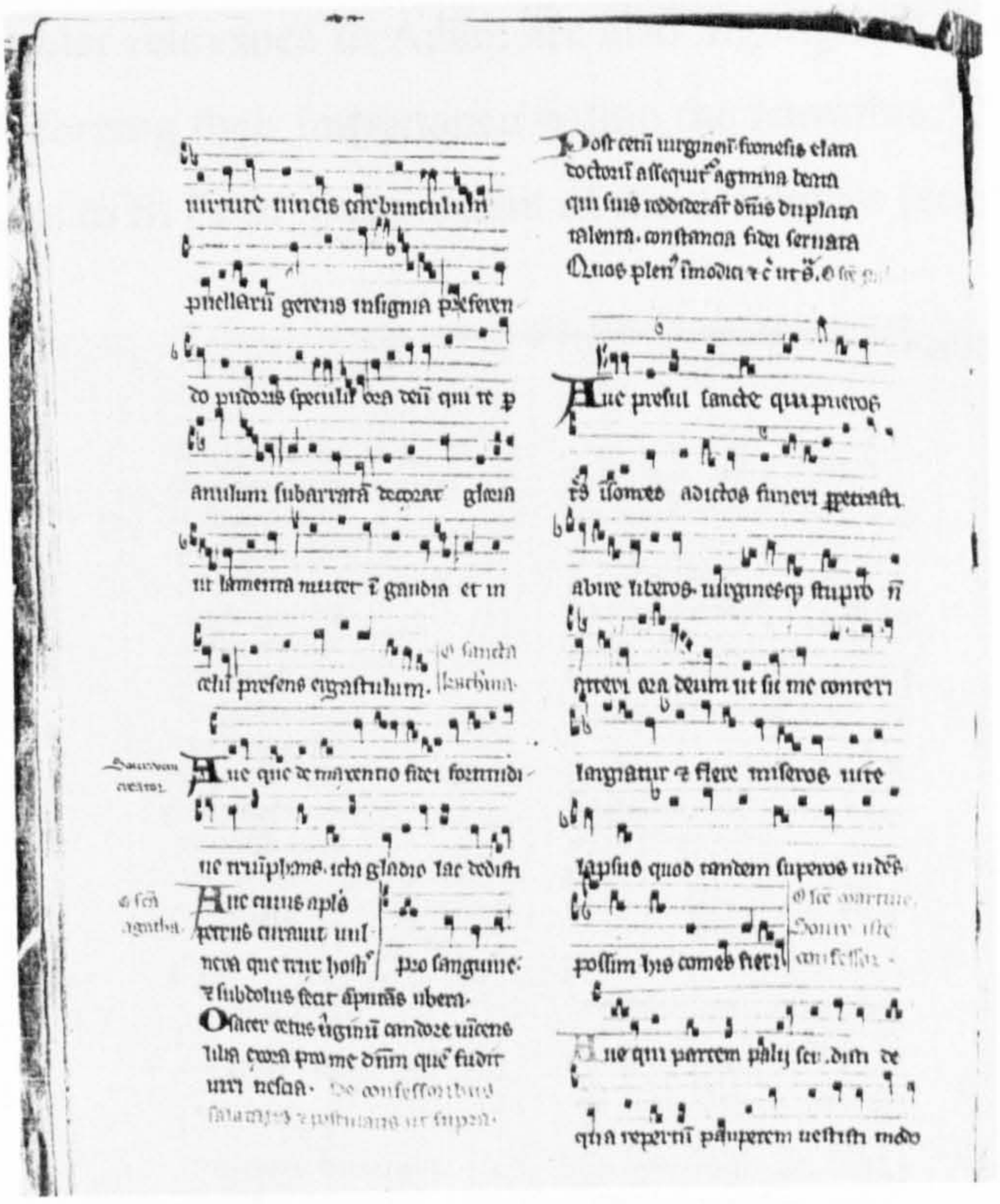

Figure 2.4: Succession of musical insertions divided only by rubrics, *Ludus*, fol. 17v

Figure 2.5: Rubrication used in Prudence's journey, *Ludus*, fol. 14v

Saints of particular relevance to Adam are also highlighted through the appearance of the manuscript, reinforcing their importance within the narrative.[182] The first example of this is the song of praise to St Peter, patron saint of the *collégiale* (see figure 2.6).[183]

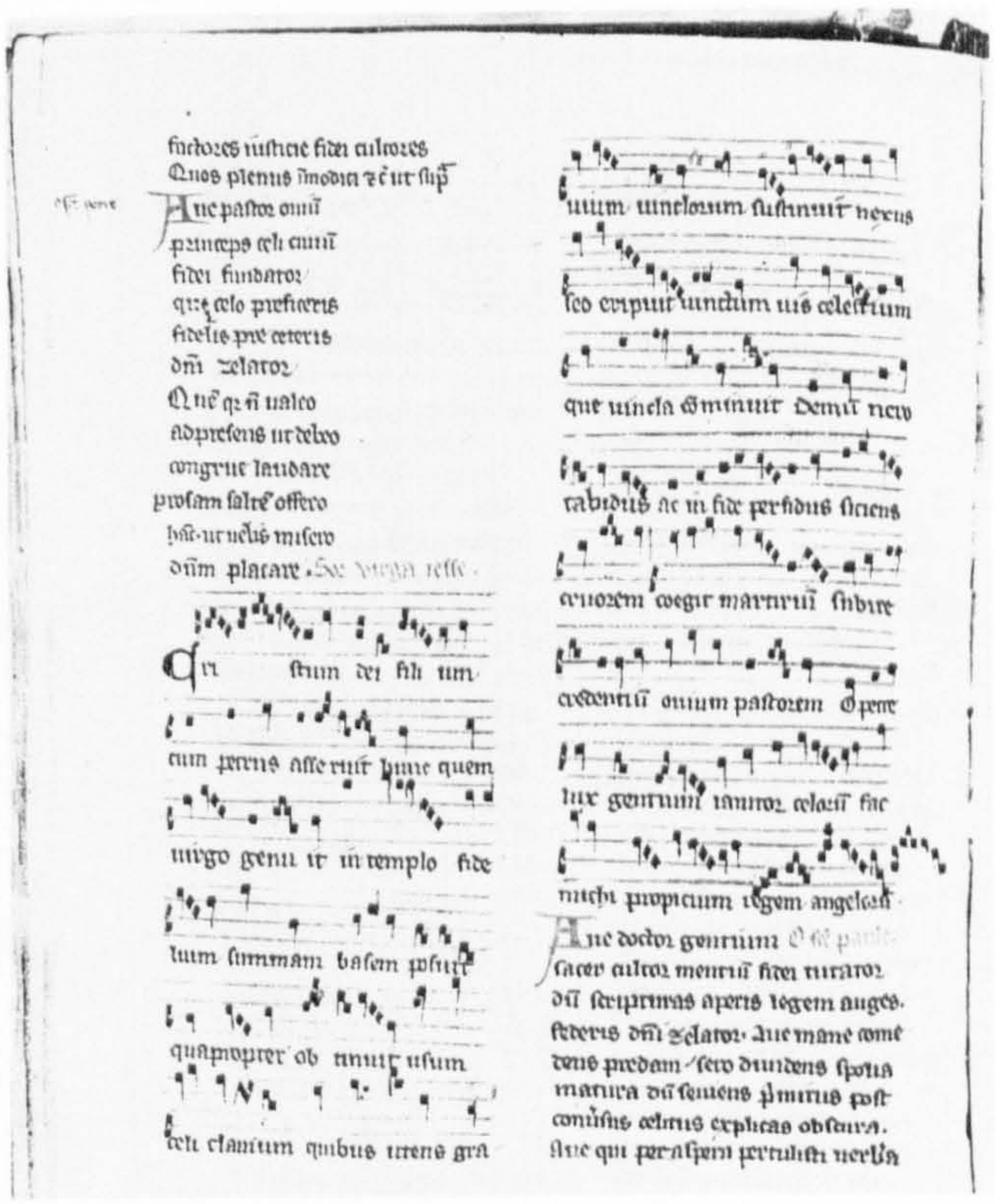

Figure 2.6: No. 73, musical offering to St Peter, *Ludus*, fol. 18v

Visually, this piece is striking, as the musical item which Adam selects is lengthy and so its presence on the page is imposing.[184] In addition, the melody is far more melismatic than the musical items which surround it, a feature that would be apparent to someone approaching the manuscript visually, whether or not they were able to read music. The insertion venerating St Elizabeth is also prominent due to its extremely ornamented melodic line and an elaborate initial letter indicating the beginning of the verse (see figure 2.7).[185] In direct contrast to many of the saints supplicated by the poet, the devotion to St Peter is the only musical item included on that particular page of the manuscript. The first song attributed to the character of Music and the first songs addressed to the Virgin Mary

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[182] The musical items mentioned here will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.
[183] Fol. 18v.
[184] The items which surround this piece sung to St Peter are far shorter, occupying from three to seven or eight staves each, in contrast to the fourteen staves used for this item.
[185] Fol. 32v.

and Christ are similarly inserted alone upon their respective folios.[186] Through this staging, the presence of these songs is highlighted, reflecting the status of the figures involved and serving as theatrical 'scenes' introducing new characters.

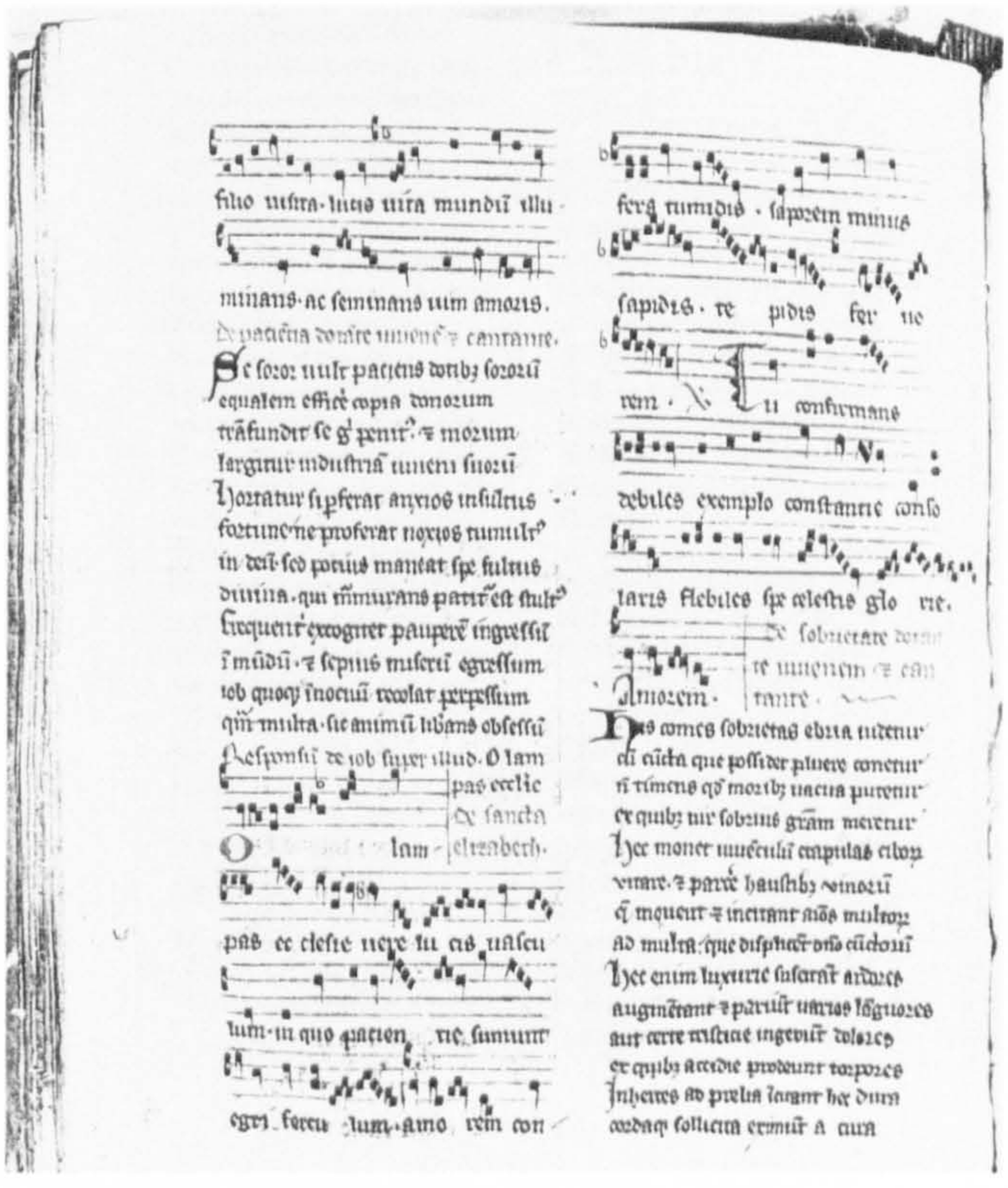

Figure 2.7: No. 137, musical offering to St Elizabeth, *Ludus*, fol. 32v

The layout of the manuscript further enforces the importance of Christ and his mother to the narrative in a variety of ways. The *Agnus* sung in veneration of Christ is the only insertion to appear in score notation[187] and therefore has a striking visual impact which provides an appropriate climax for the sequence of monophonic supplications which precedes it (see figure 2.8).[188] The other item employed as a musical offering to the Virgin Mary and Christ is a sequence sung by Prudence and Faith, one of the longest musical sections in the manuscript to consist solely of one piece.[189] Again, this is visually arresting as the musical notation straddles two pages, creating an appropriate musical tribute for these two characters. The significance of the mid point of a medieval text is well attested,

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[186] Music's song is the only musical item to appear on fol. 12v, the first musical offering to the Virgin Mary appears on its own on fol. 21v and the *Agnus* sung to Christ is inserted alone on fol. 22v.
[187] The one other polyphonic piece included in the *Ludus* is the motet sung by Concord, but only its upper voice is notated in the manuscript, the tenor part being indicated by its textual incipit AMO(REM).
[188] See fol. 22v.
[189] Fol. 26.

and it is no accident that the two-part *Agnus* to Christ occupies the central folio opening of the *Ludus,* accentuating his centrality to the narrative and its allegorical interpretation.

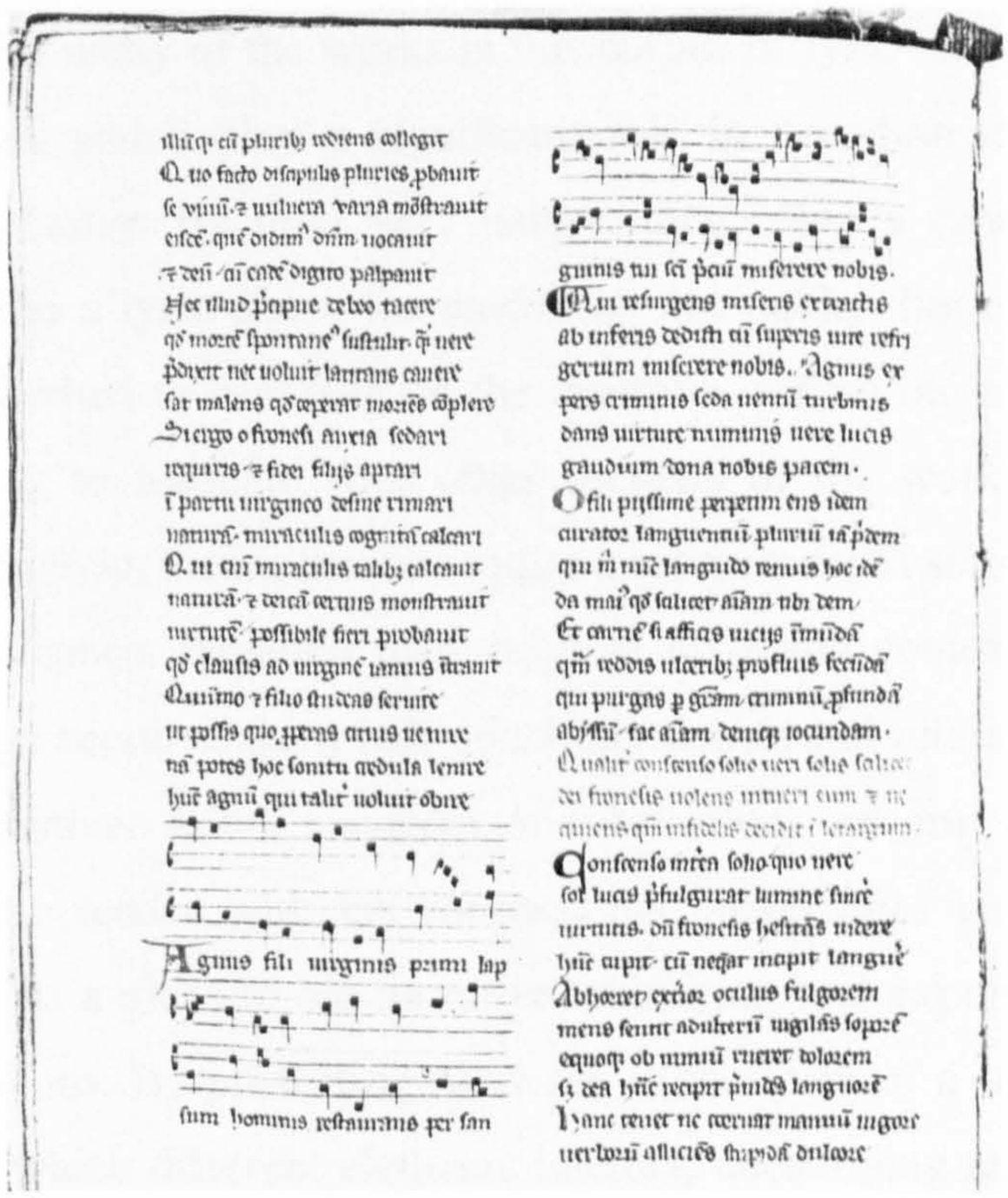

Figure 2.8: No. 88, two-part *Agnus* sung to Christ, *Ludus*, fol. 22v

VI: Reading the *Ludus*

The attention given to the layout and physical appearance of the *Ludus* manuscript indicates that the work was conceived of as a text for private reading as well as public recital. Indeed, some of the information encoded within the manuscript is best appreciated through a visual reception of the text, with several of the musical items appearing to have been selected to serve a visual, as well as aural, role within the work. Through Adam's choice of musical interpolations, he was able to highlight important characters within his narrative and provide a symbolic representation of the action taking place, staged in a series of 'scenes' played out on the parchment. Through a visual appreciation of the page layout, even an illiterate 'reader' could have discerned a certain amount of information which would have subsequently informed their understanding of the work received aurally.[190] For Adam, it seems that the 'site' of his work, the page of his manuscript, was a

[190] For an exploration of this concept, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 7.

vital part of conveying the contents of his narrative to his audience, in which each turn of the page draws the reader deeper into his creative world.

As with a great many of the works in this corpus of lyric-interpolated *romans*, it is the musical insertions which play a significant role in decoding the various layers of meaning within the *Ludus*. By their very nature, they cause a rupture in the narrative structure which creates a lyric pause for *meditatio*, not unlike that of monastic *lectio*, in which the reader is invited to ruminate on the insertion, reflect on its function within the narrative and allow it to resonate with other sections of the work. Similarly, like the practice of scholastic *lectio*, the insertions require a more in-depth scrutiny in order to yield their complete significance, recalling their original texts and contexts, considering their independent meanings acquired from individual circulation and relating this to the overall thematics of the narrative. Adam's system of rubrication, echoing that of an academic textbook, presents the reader with his sources, his *auctoritates* and, with the musical insertions, functions as a gloss to his narrative, clarifying and expounding its allegorical and moral interpretations. By presenting his work in the form of a scribe's *compilatio* or anthology codex, in which different elements interact, questioning and commenting upon each other, Adam bids his readers to engage fully with the music, to delve beneath the narrative surface and discover the depths of meaning that lie within.

Chapter 3
The Musical Insertions: In the Courts of Heaven and Earth

The wealth of creative images employed by authors of lyric-interpolated *romans* to describe the act of inserting music into a narrative context expresses the essential role played by these insertions in elucidating the themes, purposes and functions of these works. The musical interpolations provide a further means of communication between author and reader, revealing additional interpretative threads and indicating the methods through which their enclosing narratives should be approached. Accordingly, Adam's 'flower-gathering' trope, with its evocation of the tradition of *florilegium*, signifies that the insertions are to be viewed as cited *auctoritas*, self-contained repositories of information which require careful study and analysis in order to unlock their true significance. The many different facets of meaning evoked by Adam's insertions will be the subject of subsequent chapters but, prior to that, this chapter aims to examine the musical insertions in detail, exploring them within the two contrasting narrative sections of the work which contain and shape them. Using his chosen items, Adam constructs within the pages of his manuscript two courts – one in heaven and one on earth – each of which is characterised and animated by the music heard therein. Through meticulous referencing, Adam recalls two different liturgical frameworks which resonate with the narrative content of each section and confirm their thematic schemes. In each of Adam's courts, it is the musical insertions which disclose the key principles at the heart of the work and so they form the basis of my enquiry in a reading which takes into account both text and music and, in the case of the *contrafacta*, sources and original contexts, allowing these 'musical texts' to provide their own evidence.

I: Overview of the Musical Items

Before embarking on a detailed examination of the insertions, focussing on specific examples, a few preliminary remarks are necessary in order to contextualise the musical items and outline Adam's various techniques of compilation. The sheer diversity of Adam's interpolations is evident from Table 3.1. Drawn from the two repertories of the liturgy and contemporary secular song and crossing numerous generic boundaries, Adam selects examples of hymns, sequences, a responsory, a lai-*notula*, a rondeau, a pastourelle and a polyphonic motet with which to adorn his narrative. Those items noted in italics are not preceded in the manuscript by a rubric specifying a source and have therefore been

assumed to be the work of Adam.[1] Found only in this manuscript, these insertions exhibit numerous shared musical and poetic characteristics which suggest them to be the work of one hand.[2] As is apparent from Tables 3.1 and 3.2, Adam's insertions are highly eclectic, encompassing an array of composition from traditional liturgical chant to contemporary dance-songs and polyphonic writing. Varying in terms of form and style and indicating a 'characteristically thirteenth-century interest in crossing linguistic and generic boundaries',[3] Adam's insertions range from the 'high-style' trouvère chanson to the 'low-style' pastourelle, the rhapsodic responsory to the syllabic sequence. Such a variety of insertions is unusual within the lyric-interpolated tradition and it is not until *Fauvel* that a comparable diversity is found.[4]

Turning now to Table 3.2, which provides a summary of the contents of the *Ludus*' narrative and indicates the positioning of the insertions within this framework, it is evident that the vast majority of the musical items are inserted into the narrative in two main sections.[5] The first section consists of nos. 67-88 and contains Adam's account of Prudence's time in heaven among the assembled company of saints, whilst the second section, nos. 111-157, describes the creation of the Perfect Man and his subsequent endowment with all virtue and moral goodness. These two sections, the first of which marks the culmination of Prudence's celestial journey and precedes her meeting with God, and the second which emphasises the significance of the creation of the Perfect Man and describes his Christ-like character in advance of the battle between the Virtues and the Vices over his soul, form the two focal points of the work around which the narrative is structured. Demarcated by the appearance of the musical insertions, these sections – each of which differs considerably in style and character – encapsulate the fundamental themes of the work and represent its dual function, as both a devotional 'journey' of discovery and worship and as a didactic guidebook to morality.

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[1] Andrew Hughes, 'The *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 3; Bayart, *Ludus*, lxiii.
[2] This group of *unica* will be considered below.
[3] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002), 121.
[4] The index of *Fauvel*, found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 146, fol. Br, lists the following categories of insertions included within the narrative: *Motez a trebles et a tenures* (three-part motets), *Motez a tenures sanz trebles* (two-part motets), *Proses et lays* (Latin and French monophonic verse songs), *Rondeaux, balades et reffrez de chancons* (French secular songs), *Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez* (Alleluias, antiphons, responses, *Agnus* and verses).
[5] Two items (nos. 37 and 106) stand slightly apart from this scheme for symbolic reasons, as will be discussed below.

(i) The *Auctoritas*: Adam's *Contrafacta* Models:

Of Adam's thirty-eight insertions, twenty are *contrafacta*, based on pre-existing models, both sacred and secular. Table 3.3 records the titles of Adam's songs, the rubrics which precede each *contrafactum* and an indication of the sources in which the original models appear. These *contrafacta* consist of eight secular songs (of which five are based on trouvère chansons and one a pastourelle) whilst eleven are described as having a liturgical source. One item is modelled upon a pre-existing motet. As Table 3.3 makes clear, these items appear in an array of sources. Of the liturgical items used, virtually all can be located in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, originating from the *collégiale* of St Pierre, and they were obviously sung regularly as part of the cycle of daily services held in the church.[6] Adam's secular items are found in a wider range of manuscripts, including numerous chansonniers, all of which are indicated in Table 3.4.[7] In the case of several of his items (nos. 73, 121, 141 and 154) Adam states in his rubrication that they are based on a model, either a liturgical item or a secular dance song, but no concordance has yet been traced. However, it is probable that, like Adam's other *contrafacta*, these pieces were also well-known in his day.

Throughout the course of this chapter, the particular relevance of specific insertions to their narrative context will be explored. On a more general scale, it appears that, when selecting his models, Adam adhered wherever possible to several criteria. These various principles informed Adam in deciding which models to employ and offer further evidence as to how his *contrafacta* should be understood. The first of these selection criteria is that each insertion, if feasible, should have some local relevance.[8] Returning to Table 3.3, it is evident that Adam chose his secular models from the repertories of six different trouvères:

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[6] This manuscript is a combined Cantatorium, Antiphoner and Hymnal for the Precentor's use and was compiled at the time of the *Ludus*' writing – see Chapter 1, 43-4 for additional information.

[7] These manuscripts fall into two main categories: those which simply contain trouvère lyrics, with or without musical notation, and those which are best described as compilations, comprising a variety of lyrics and songs as well as *romans* and other literary works, many of which echo the range of material and compilatory techniques employed by Adam in the *Ludus*. Several of these anthologies, combining pastourelles, *jeux-partis* and dance-songs with sequences, conductus and Marian songs, illustrate within their pages the art of re-using existing material, with religious songs which employ secular melodies found elsewhere within the same codex (see especially Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 24406). This fusion of sacred and secular, old text and new text, lyric and narrative, may have influenced Adam in his compilation of the *Ludus*, guiding his choice of musical items and inspiring him to create a work which draws extensively on different registers, evoking these repertories as a way of heightening meaning within his work. For more information on these manuscripts, see David Fallows and Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Sources', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxiii. 852-9. See also Margaret L. Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research in French and Occitan Song, 1100 – 1400* (New York, 1995).

[8] It is important to note that this local connection may be accomplished in several different ways as will be explored below.

Sauvage de Béthune, Thibaut, roi de Navarre, Raoul de Soissons, Martin Béquin de Cambrai, Lambert Ferri d'Arras and Henri, duc de Brabant. Other than Thibaut who, as a member of royalty, was widely famed, the other five trouvères are all natives of northern France or Flanders and many of them were based within thirty miles of Lille where Adam was living and writing.[9] As discussed in Chapter 1, Lille, Cambrai and Arras were all centres of trouvère activity in the later thirteenth century, each of which attracted poets, composers and musicians from the surrounding area who brought with them the most contemporary poetry and music. It is possible that local trouvères may even have performed at the *collégiale*, perhaps as part of a festival or other special occasion, and so it is feasible that many of Adam's secular insertions were selected after he heard them performed within the locality.

Adam's apparent interest in the inclusion of items with local relevance extends to his use of liturgical material, with two intricate models derived from the liturgy employed as a means of venerating saints of particular local importance. In the first section of the *Ludus*, St Peter (patron of the church at Lille) is singled out for adoration with a *contrafactum* model that is far more elaborate than the items used for supplicating the other saints mentioned in the narrative, thereby reinforcing his status as a local saint. Likewise, in the second section, for his offering sung by Patience, Adam inserts an item derived from the liturgy for the feast day of St Elizabeth of Hungary. Celebrated solemnly at Lille,[10] she is similarly supplicated with an ornate responsory which serves to distinguish this musical offering from those which surround it.[11] These saints held especial relevance for Adam and for the community of St Pierre and, through the inclusion of these items sung in their honour, Adam extended the relevance of the *Ludus* to those who would have participated in the reading of its narrative.[12]

Also to influence Adam's choice of models was the popularity, and therefore familiarity, of these items to the people of Lille. In choosing both his secular and sacred insertions, it is obvious that Adam endeavoured to select items that were widely-known and that would have been easily recognisable to all those who heard or read the *Ludus*. Table 3.4 demonstrates that all of Adam's secular models are preserved in multiple

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[9] See Hughes, '*Ludus*', 7-8.
[10] See Bayart, *Ludus*, xliii, lxx.
[11] As seen in Chapter 2, 89-90, these items are distinguished visually on the manuscript page as well as aurally.
[12] Both of these items are examined in more detail below.

manuscripts, suggesting not only their popularity but indicating the breadth of the audience to which they were known. Many of these trouvère chansonniers originate from the area within which Adam was writing (there are manuscripts from Artois, Picardy, Lorraine and Arras) and all but one have been dated earlier than the *Ludus*, with several having been copied in the ten or so years preceding the composition of Adam's work.[13] The appearance of Adam's *contrafacta* models in a variety of chansonniers emphasises the manner in which these songs circulated independently, acquiring their own identity and status which could then be exploited in a narrative context. For Adam, it seems that the wealth of sources in which his models were preserved indicated the wide-reaching dissemination of these items, ensuring their fame and recognisability.

Adam's concern for the familiarity of his models is also apparent with regard to his liturgical items. Table 3.5, which details those insertions based on liturgical models, reveals that two of these items (no. 69a, *Iste confessor* and no. 71a, *Sanctorum meritis*) are derived from the repertory of Common Hymns which, being sung on numerous occasions, would have been generally well-known.[14] Similarly, for his two sequences, Adam borrows popular models for the creation of new texts in the Middle Ages: no. 106 on the model *Letabundus* and no. 143 based on *Zima vetus*.[15] Also indicated by Table 3.5 are the liturgical feast(s) for which Adam's models were originally employed at St Pierre.[16] As can be seen, Adam's liturgical insertions are drawn from a variety of festivals encompassing the most significant events in the life of Christ as commemorated by the Church Calendar. Leaving aside nos. 69a and 71a which are not assigned to one particular festival, and nos. 73 and 141 whose sources have not been traced, it is possible to map with some certainty the position that the remaining items would have occupied within the liturgical year. Two of the items, nos. 67a and 83a, are based on hymns sung during the feast of Pentecost, nos. 77a and 106 are drawn from the Christmastide liturgy, the feast of the Ascension is represented by no. 81a and the octave of Easter by no. 143. Finally, no. 137, a responsory to St Elizabeth, would have been sung on her feast day which falls on November 17th. By

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[13] Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657 – 1278; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5198 – 1270s; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 845 – 1270-80; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 846 – *c.* 1280-90; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 847 – 1270-80; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 12615 – 1270s-80s. MSS 657, 5198, 845, 847 and 12615 all originate from the Artois region.

[14] The first of these items (*CAO*, no. 8323) is taken from the Common of a Confessor Saint, whilst the latter (*CAO*, no. 8390) is from the Common of two or more Martyrs.

[15] See Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), 218.

[16] These liturgical allocations are based on their appearance in either Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, a combined Cantatorium, Antiphoner and Hymnal, or Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564, an Ordinal, both originating from the *collégiale* of St Pierre; see Chapter 1, 42-4 for more information about these manuscripts.

deriving his liturgical insertions from the major feasts of the Church Calendar, Adam could guarantee that they would be recognised, enabling him to allude to the festivals with which they were connected and thereby bring his narrative into dialogue with the many related biblical and Christological themes.[17]

At the heart of Adam's creative decision to choose popular and locally-relevant items is a desire that his *contrafacta* be familiar to all those who access the *Ludus*. By selecting secular items composed by local trouvères, and liturgical items in honour of local saints or else derived from the central festivals of the Temporale, Adam could ensure that his models would be instantly recognisable to his readers, who would then be able to recall the original texts and repertories with which they were associated. Adam thus allows his *contrafacta* melodies to serve as independent 'texts', each speaking of wider contexts and sources, previous incarnations and functions, which converse with their new texts and new setting within the *Ludus*, creating further layers of sense and meaning. The effort expended by Adam in selecting musical items of such relevance, both to the themes of his work and to his audience, reveals their significance as interpretative tools in deciphering the message of the *Ludus*. These musical interpolations, and especially the *contrafacta* items which resonate so widely, form the uniting thread of the work, guiding and shaping the direction of the narrative and drawing out the key truths enclosed within its pages.

The popularity of the sources of Adam's *contrafacta* and their appearance in a wide variety of manuscripts raises questions regarding the form and nature of Adam's borrowing. Was it a written borrowing, copied directly from one of the extant manuscripts or perhaps a lost source? Or was it an oral/aural borrowing, either from a remembered performance, or from a dictation by an expert in the relevant musical tradition? Perhaps it was a combination of both methods, with Adam or his notator generating a musical item in his mind whilst having a written exemplar in front of him as he wrote.[18] A number of clues as to how Adam created his *contrafacta* are supplied by the musical items. The relationship between Adam's *contrafacta* and their source melodies varies from items which exhibit no obvious deviation from their model to those which appear to have been reformulated. Turning first to the liturgical *contrafacta*, a comparison of Adam's versions with the

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[17] For an explanation of the various liturgical cycles which Adam maps onto the *Ludus* and a reading of these cycles in connection with the themes of his narrative, see Chapter 5, 241-3.

[18] For a detailed description of this method of transcription and transmission combining oral and written processes, see Leo Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Music of the Middle Ages', in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford, 2003), 230-51, at 244.

sources as they appear in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599 reveals his borrowing to be identical.[19] This suggests that the *Ludus*' notator transcribed these items directly from a liturgical manuscript employed at the *collégiale* or perhaps notated them whilst a member of the *collégiale* choir who was well-versed in these chants sung them through. Whichever is the case, the fact that the chants which Adam selected were well-known and in common use at the *collégiale* has ensured the accuracy of their transcription within the *Ludus*.

Adam's secular *contrafacta* are slightly more complicated as the concordances between his versions and those found in surviving manuscripts are varied. None of Adam's secular *contrafacta* is identical to the trouvère songs preserved in the existing manuscripts and, although some examples exhibit only slightly differences, others are less closely related.[20] Furthermore, whilst several of Adam's versions are most similar to the sources found in one particular manuscript, others appear to combine features derived from a variety of different manuscripts.[21] These variants demonstrate that his trouvère *contrafacta* were not simply copied directly from one of the extant sources. Rather, this evidence would appear to point towards an oral borrowing based upon remembrance, with Adam and/or his notator recalling these popular melodies from previous performances heard, perhaps, at the various *puys* held in Lille and the surrounding environs. Whether the variants between the original melodies and Adam's *contrafacta* are the result of an incorrect remembering, an indication of a slightly different version of the songs in circulation in Lille at the time or an act of purposeful recomposition on Adam's part is not entirely clear – it may be a combination of several of these factors. However, it is apparent that these secular items were important to Adam's artistic scheme despite the various issues involved in their employment within the narrative and that the symbolic and thematic value of these items was of greater importance to Adam than the accuracy of their transcription.

In the act of creating his *contrafacta*, Adam had to find ways of fitting his newly-composed texts to the pre-existing melodies of his chosen source songs. This task was

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[19] The liturgical sources of nos. 69a, 71a, 77a, 83a, 106 and 137 can all be found in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, 599 – see Table 3.3 for folio references. It should be noted that, as MS 599 was designed for the Precentor's use, it contains only the solo portions of these chants.

[20] No. 67 is quite similar to the version of its source song preserved in MS K (although its cadences vary); however, no. 129 exhibits numerous variations when compared with any of the surviving sources.

[21] Nos. 37, 67 and 79 are most similar to the versions of the chansons found in MS K, nos. 83 and 85 share many features with the versions found in MS O interspersed with a number of elements from other manuscripts, whilst no. 129 appears to combine several versions preserved in various manuscripts.

rendered more complex in the case of the secular *contrafacta* where his Latin lyrics were imposed onto melodies originally designed to accompany French text with its different metrical and accentual patterns. The structural and metrical relationship between source and *contrafacta* varies throughout the *Ludus*' insertions, with differences evident in the way the various genres are treated. An examination of Adam's *contrafacta* of the Office hymns reveals that his versions frequently preserve the metrical structure of the original text and in several examples he also chooses to follow the original rhyme schemes fairly closely. The majority of the hymn texts upon which the *contrafacta* are based are isometric, consisting of four octosyllabic lines, and this pattern is replicated in Adam's new texts for these items.[22] An example of this is seen in no. 77a based upon *A solis ortu cardine*,[23] in which the rhyme scheme of the first and third stanzas of the original is also imitated, with just a slight adaptation in the second stanza, where Adam evens out the irregularity of the original text:

No. 77a:	**A solis ortu cardine:**
Ave certum præsagium	A solis ortu cardine
Ferens de partu Virginis	Ad usque terræ limitem
Dicendo ecce Numinis	Christum canamus principem
Virgo pariet Filium.	Natum Maria virgine.
Ave cujus vox conterit	Beatus auctor sæculi
Judæos hoc præsagio	Servile corpus induit
Cum Sanctorum advenerit	Ut carne carnem liberans,
Sanctus cessabit unctio.	Ne perderet quos condidit.
O Prophetarum contio	Clausa parentis viscera
Certo vigens præsagio	Cœlestis intrat gratia,
Exora voce sedula	Venter puellæ bajulat
Pro me regentem sæcula.	Secreta, quæ non noverat.

Two of Adam's chosen hymn texts are heterometric, *Iste confessor*[24] comprising three hendecasyllabic lines followed by a much shorter pentasyllabic line and *Sanctorum meritis*[25] consisting of three dodecasyllabic lines followed by one line of eight syllables. Again, in his *contrafacta*, Adam replicates this scheme exactly, also retaining the aabc rhyme scheme of the first stanza of *Sanctorum meritis*.[26] None of the source hymns used in the *Ludus* has a consistent rhyme pattern, either within the stanza or from one stanza to the next. However, for several of his *contrafacta*, Adam chooses instead to employ a particular

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[22] See nos. 67a, 77a, 81a and 83a.
[23] *CAO*, no. 8248. The texts of the liturgical items discussed are taken from *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume and Henry M. Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-1922). For the text of this hymn, see *AH*, ii. no. 23.
[24] *CAO*, no. 8323.
[25] *CAO*, no. 8390.
[26] See nos. 69a and 71a.

scheme and impose a greater regularity: see, for instance, no. 67a in which the irregular rhyme pattern of *Veni Creator Spiritus* (abbb cdef ghcb etc.) is replaced with the following uniform scheme: abab cdcd efef.

The other sacred *contrafacta*, modelled upon more complex or elaborate liturgical forms, vary slightly more. No. 137, Adam's version of the responsory *O lampas ecclesiæ*,[27] utilises a very similar metrical structure to its model: the verse is identical, consisting of four seven-syllable lines, while the irregular structure of the responsory is reproduced closely, although the hextasyllabic second line of the original has an added syllable in Adam's version. The rhyme scheme of the responsory is also imitated exactly and that of the verse is very similar:

No. 137:												
Syllables:	7	7	7	7	8	8	6		7	7	7	7
Rhymes:	a	b	a	b	c	c	d	*V.*	e	f	g	f
***O lampas ecclesiæ*:**												
Syllables:	7	6	7	7	8	8	6		7	7	7	7
Rhymes:	a	b	a	b	c	c	d	*V.*	e	f	e	f

The two items based on longer sequences, nos. 106 and 143, adhere less strictly to the structure of their originals. No. 143, modelled upon *Zima vetus*,[28] shares the opening scheme of its source with two sets of paired verses, each pair consisting of the following syllabic pattern: 8 8 7 / 8 8 7, rhymed aab / aab:

No. 143:	**Zima vetus:**
Zima vetus expurgetur	Zima vetus expurgetur
Quo Mariæ commendetur	Ut sincere celebretur
Pure sancta dignitas.	Nova resurrectio;
Tanto namque plus accrescit	Hæc est dies nostre spei,
Nobis, quanto plus lucescit	Huius mira vis diei
Ejus digna sanctitas.	Legis testimonio.

However, in his *contrafactum*, Adam chooses to continue in this regular scheme (towards the end expanding it to three or four octosyllabic lines followed by one line of seven syllables) in contrast to the original which contains several irregular verse pairs consisting of the following syllabic patterns: 8 8 7 / 10 10 7 or 8 8 7 / 7 7 7. No. 106, based upon the

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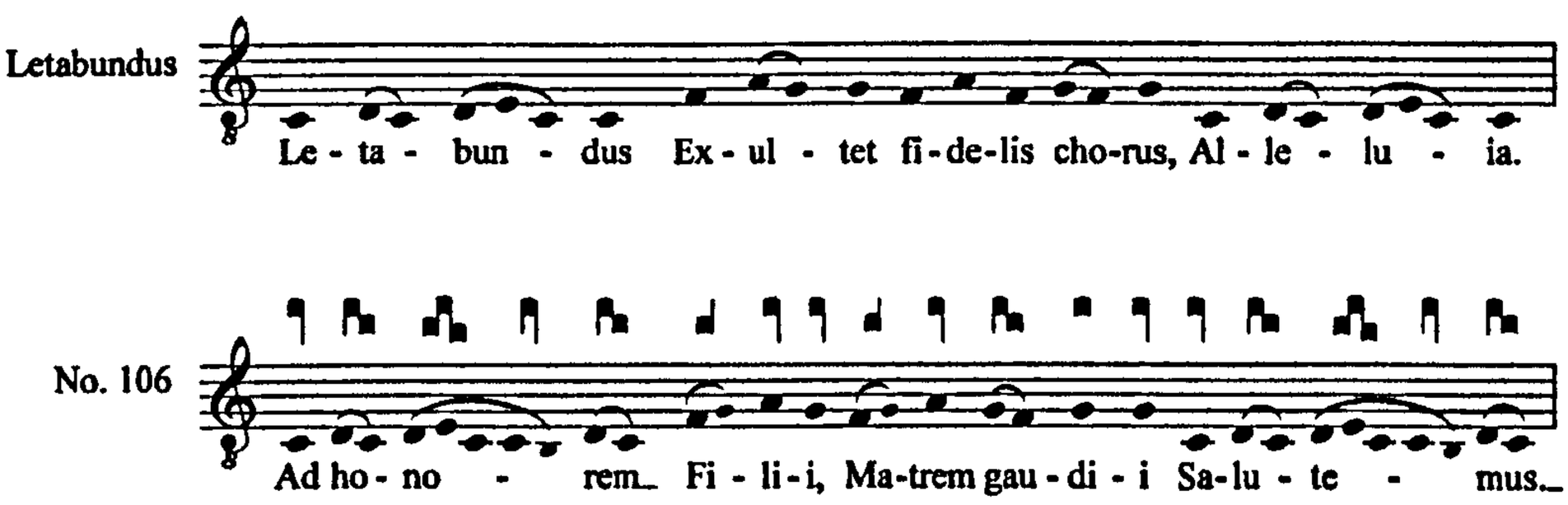
[27] Found in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, fol. 79.
[28] An edition of this item is given in *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor: Texte et Musique*, ed. Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry (Paris, 1900), 257.

sequence *Letabundus*,[29] consists of six paired versicles as does its model. Verse pairs 2 to 6 of Adam's *contrafactum* preserve the metrical scheme found in the original sequence but the first pair of verses exhibits several variants. Whereas in the original each verse contains a four-syllable line followed by an octosyllabic line and a further four-syllable line, Adam's version has lines of seven, five and four syllables:

No. 106:	**Letabundus:**
Ad honorem Filii	Letabundus
Matrem gaudii	Exsultet fidelis chorus,
Salutemus.	Alleluia;
Et pro matre Filio	Regem regum
Sine tædio	Intacte profudit thorus,
Jubilemus.	Res Miranda.

As he retains the source melody of these verses fairly closely, Adam has to disperse his text differently throughout the melodic structure, causing overlap between musical and textual phrase units (see ex. 3.1).[30]



Example 3.1: Comparison of first verse of *Letabundus* and no. 106, *Ad honorem Filii*

Like his sacred *contrafacta*, the majority of Adam's secular *contrafacta* are isometric, with most consisting of eight or nine decasyllabic lines.[31] Yet, as the original texts of these items are in French, many of their metrical schemes are structured around alternating masculine and feminine rhymes, resulting in the addition of 'extra' syllables, a feature which Adam chooses not to reflect in his versions. In order to ensure that his new texts fit their melodic setting, Adam manipulates the pre-existing melodies, particularly at cadential points, according to the requirements of the metrical structure of his new text.

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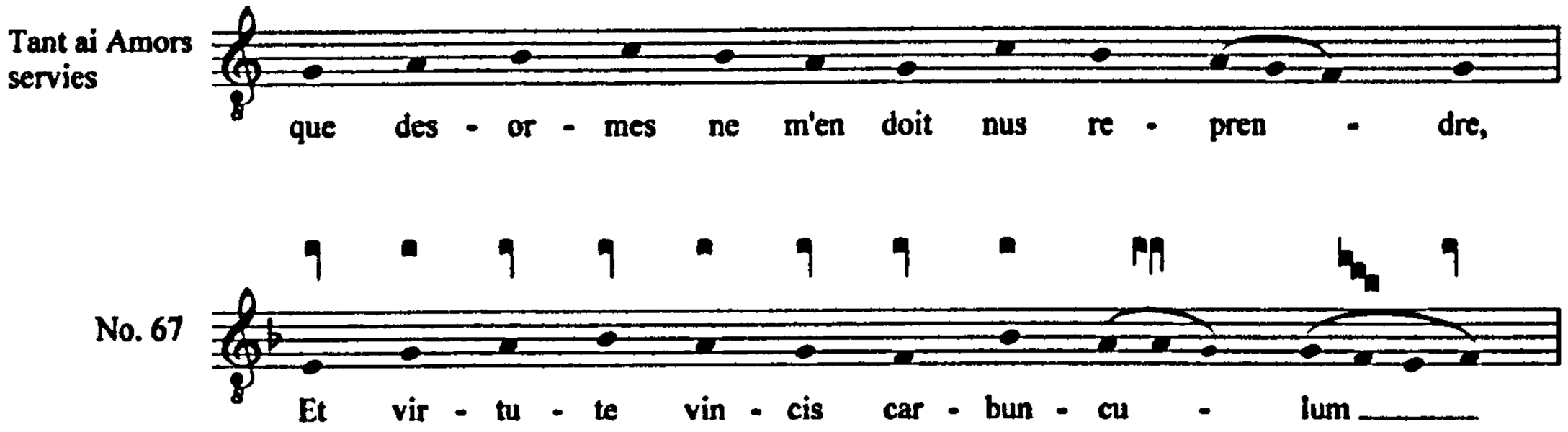
[29] For an edition of this sequence, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050 – 1350* (Cambridge, 1986), 91-5.
[30] Adam's first textual phrase occupies the first and part of the second melodic phrase of the original.
[31] The models used for nos. 37, 67, 83 and 85 are all isometric and consist of decasyllabic lines.

This occurs in no. 67, based on the chanson *Tant ai amors*.[32] The structure of the *frons* of Adam's model exhibits the following structure: 10 10^{+} 10 10^{+},[33] whereas in his *contrafactum* Adam eradicates the extra syllables resulting from the feminine rhymes, creating a repeated A section which consists of two equal decasyllabic lines. In order to suit his shorter text, Adam incorporates the unaccented 'extra' syllable of the French model into the neumatic figure with which his A section concludes (see ex. 3.2).[34]



Example 3.2: Comparison of second phrase of *Tant ai amors* (MS K) and no. 67, *Ave gemma*

The three remaining secular source songs (nos. 79, 129 and 135) are heterometric, and here there are varying relationships between model and *contrafacta* which demonstrate several techniques adopted by Adam in order to unite his new texts with the pre-existing melodies. The trouvère chanson used as the model for no. 79, *Quant voi la glaie meure*,[35] exhibits an irregular metrical scheme: 7^{+} 7 7^{+} 7 3 7 7^{+} 7^{+} 7 7 7^{+} 7 7. In constructing his new text, Adam adheres to this structure quite closely, although the phrases with a feminine rhyme are given an extra syllable, resulting in the scheme 8 7 8 7 3 7 8 7 7 7 8 7 7. This enables Adam to follow the original melodic setting closely. In no. 129, which is modelled upon a pastourelle *L'autrier estoie montes sur mon palefroi amblant*,[36] Adam deviates slightly from the original metrical scheme. Both versions begin with four seven-syllable lines but, whilst the model continues with the following pattern: 5 3^{+} 5^{+} 5, Adam's text consists of two pentasyllabic lines, followed by a seven-syllable line and another five-syllable line. Both versions then conclude with three trisyllabic lines and a final seven-syllable line.

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[32] R 711.
[33] Feminine rhymes are indicated by the addition of a superscript '+' symbol to the syllable count, signalling the 'extra' unaccented syllable.
[34] Despite these syllabic discrepancies found in several *contrafacta*, Adam utilises a number of the rhyme schemes of his models in his own versions, with nos. 67, 83 and 85 sharing identical schemes with their sources.
[35] R 2107.
[36] R 936.

No. 129:
Felix qui humilium
Vere vitam sequitur
Vita namque talium
Gaudens exaltabitur
Sicut legitur
In contrarium
Fastus non assequitur
Cæli gaudium.
Teritur,
Quatitur,
Solium
Perdit qui extollitur.

L'autrier estoie montez
L'autrier estoie montez
Seur mon palefroi amblant
Et pris m'estoit volentez
De trouver un nouviau chant.
Tout esbanoiant
M'en aloie;
Truis enmi ma voie
Pastore seant
Loing et gent.
Belement
La salu
Et li dis: 'Vez ci vo dru!'

In his *contrafactum* of this item, Adam's version of the melody diverges considerably from the model, particularly at the line endings where different cadential figures are employed, in order to incorporate these variants in the metrical scheme.[37] No. 135 is Adam's *contrafactum* of a motet,[38] in which neither the metrical nor rhyming structure of the original is imitated strictly:

No. 135:
Syllables: 9 8 5 7 7 7 8 4 6 8
Rhymes: a b b b b a c c d e

Et quant iou remir:
Syllables: 10 8 5 7 7 7 8 6 6 8
Rhymes: a a b b b b a c a a

Despite these structural differences, Adam's *contrafactum* retains the source melody almost exactly. As Adam's text contains fewer syllables than his model, he disperses it throughout the melody in a slightly different manner, setting individual syllables to two- or three-note figures as opposed to single notes as in the original model.

These examples raise the question of how easy Adam's *contrafacta* would have been to sing. In setting his new texts to pre-existing melodies it is apparent that, on a number of occasions, Adam adheres fairly strictly to the metrical structures of his source songs – this is particularly true of the hymn *contrafacta* whose original texts were in Latin. More commonly, however, there is a degree of flexibility between the original texts and Adam's new texts with regard to line lengths and syllabic patterns and, as a result, some of the borrowed melodies have been adjusted and adapted accordingly. In the case of the secular *contrafacta*, all of which possess French texts in their original versions, there are

[37] See below, page 157 for more information on the use of repeated cadential figures in Adam's version of the melody.
[38] M 364.

additional variants in terms of accentual schemes and the use of masculine and feminine rhymes. In several examples, this has led to a counter-intuitive text setting, with the new text dispersed through the melodic phrase in a manner which contradicts the original melodic phrase division and structure.[39] The metrical and structural tension which arises from combining a new text with a differently-ordered melody would perhaps have caused some difficulty in the singing of these items, especially for those familiar with the original version. In replacing one set of words with another, it would seem that Adam's primary concern was not to mimic patterns and structures of stanzas, lines and syllables exactly in order to facilitate an easy performance of these items, but to select models which were pertinent to the narrative at the point of insertion or to the character to which they were assigned. This suggests that, for Adam, the act of making *contrafacta* was above all a writerly one and that these items were designed primarily to be read rather than heard in a performance setting. When viewed within this context, the disjunction between music and text assumes an additional function within the *Ludus*: by emphasising the boundaries between newly-composed text and pre-existing music, the reader is caused to consider the source text with which the melody was originally associated. Particularly in the case of the secular *contrafacta*, this highlights the registral and generic shifts caused by Adam, underlining the relationship between secular and sacred which runs throughout the *Ludus*.[40] By creating a slight sense of metrical and structural disruption, Adam emphasises the status of these songs as *contrafacta*, recast in a new guise, and brings their original text and context into dialogue with the themes and content of his narrative.

(ii) Methods of Inscription: The *Ludus*' Notation:

Each of Adam's musical items is inserted into the *Ludus* manuscript with full musical notation, intensifying the significance of music as a means of communication within the narrative. The presence of this notation indicates that these are musical, not simply lyric, insertions and that their inherent musical character is a vital aspect of the manner in which they operate in the work.[41] In keeping with the overall style of the manuscript, the insertions have been notated carefully using staves of four or five lines, with attention paid to accidentals and clef changes. C clefs are used predominantly, interspersed with F clefs,[42] and one example of a G clef.[43] No directs are used, although

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[39] See the first versicle of no. 106 for an example.
[40] See Chapter 4 for a detailed examination of this relationship.
[41] For more information, see Chapter 2, 60-1.
[42] See *Ave, pater multarum*, no. 81, fol. 20r, col. B, first two staves and fol. 20v, col. A, first three staves.
[43] See *O quam fallax*, no. 37, fol. 12v, col. A, fifth stave.

clefs change frequently from one stave to the next in order to avoid the need for additional staff lines.[44] On the whole, the insertions appear to have been meticulously planned and laid out with regard to the amount of space left for the notation which, as is apparent from items such as nos. 79 and 111, was clearly copied in after the text.[45] The songs sit comfortably alongside the narrative text and utilise the available space to the full, with half-lines of music at the end of a piece abutting half-lines of text at the beginning of a new section.[46] Where an item is attributed to more than one character, such as no. 106, a sequence voiced alternately by Prudence and Faith, the versicles are clearly separated and marked in the margin with the name of each character. In order to notate the insertions accurately and fully, a number of accidentals are employed by the notation scribe. A flat sign appears frequently, often at the beginning of a stave indicating its use throughout the line,[47] but also used immediately preceding the note to be flattened.[48] B flat is the most regularly used accidental but there are also examples of the flat sign utilised to mark an E flat.[49] A sharp sign is also used, most commonly placed at F,[50] and sometimes fulfilling the function of a natural sign after a flat.[51] The notation itself consists primarily of the long and breve, both with and without plicas, interspersed with a variety of binary, ternary and quaternary ligatures *cum proprietate et cum perfectione*.[52] Ligatures *cum opposite proprietate* also appear frequently,[53] as do *currentes*, either beginning with a long[54] or occasionally preceded with a diagonal stem to the first diamond-shaped note.[55]

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[44] A clear example of this occurs in no. 137 on fol. 32v, Adam's song of praise to St Elizabeth. Due to its extended range, Adam employs the C clef in three different positions, varying from one line to the next. No. 73, which also utilises a wider melodic range, contains a change of clef mid-stave: see fol. 18v, col. B, fifth stave.

[45] In the third stave of no. 79 (fol. 20r, col. A) the text scribe has repeated the last word of the previous line and then crossed it through whilst the music scribe, coming after, has simply left a space above the incorrect word. In the final two staves of no. 111 (fol. 27v, col. A) the text scribe has left a great deal of room for a relatively short melisma, clearly anticipating a much longer figure.

[46] See fol. 17v, col. A, staves 6 and 9 for examples of this.

[47] See, for example, no. 115, *Fœcis avaritæ*, fol. 28r, col. B - 28v, col. A, which has a B flat at the beginning of all but two staves.

[48] See no. 69, *Ave præsul*, fol. 17v, col. A, stave 2.

[49] See no. 69, *Ave præsul*, fol. 17v, col. B, staves 5 and 6 for the use of an E flat.

[50] For instance, in the first stave of no. 81, *Ave pater*, fol. 20r, col. B.

[51] See no. 81, *Ave pater*, fol. 20v, col. A, stave 2 where the sharp sign is used to signal an E natural following an E flat earlier in the line.

[52] No. 37, the first musical interpolation, on fol. 12v, contains numerous examples of these ligatures in both their ascending and descending forms. Descending – first stave, on word 'glo(ria)'; second stave, 'ho(mi)ne'. Ascending – fifth stave, 'y(magine)'; fifth stave, '(cre)a(vit).

[53] For an ascending version, see no. 71, *Ave, pugil*, fol. 18r, col. A, stave 1 on the words '(A)ve'; 'in'; '(ca)ri(tatis)' and for a descending version, no. 83, *Ave, princeps*, fol. 21r, col. A, stave 1 on the word '(cæles)tis'; col. B, stave 1, '(ple)na'.

[54] See no. 71a, *Ave par Angelis*, fol. 18r, col. B, stave 7, on the word '(pa)tri(am)'.

[55] Hughes '*Ludus*', 16. See no. 73, *Christum Dei*, fol. 18v, col. A, stave 3 on the word '(tem)plo'.

As with many manuscripts of a similar period, the rhythmic interpretation of the *Ludus*' musical insertions is somewhat problematic. Despite a passage in which Prudence is portrayed as wearing a tunic embroidered with images of the Arts, 'by which means Nature has shown the different rhythmic modes [manieres],[56] which the shorter notes make distinct',[57] modal rhythms are not clearly or systematically employed.[58] Conversely, although the *Ludus* was written some years later, its music exhibits few traces of the rhythmic innovations of Franco of Cologne.[59] Whilst there are numerous examples of ligatures which point towards mensural notation, many of these are used inaccurately and without precision, rendering a fully mensural interpretation impossible. An examination of all the musical items in the *Ludus* reveals that the insertions can be divided into three groups: those which employ a measured system of notation, those which use an unmeasured system and those which utilise a combination of the previous two categories, demonstrating traces of measured notation but not enough to facilitate a complete rhythmic interpretation. In general, these notational distinctions occur between genre groups, with all of the secular dance-song *contrafacta* and the polyphonic items notated in a system based on the alternation of long and short values, whilst the majority of the liturgical *contrafacta* employ a notation where little attempt is made to indicate any regular measured pattern.[60] The third category consists of the secular trouvère chanson *contrafacta* plus a number of liturgical *contrafacta* and *unica*.

Beginning with the first category, the polyphonic pieces – no. 88, the *Agnus* and no. 135, the motet – exhibit some clarity of rhythmic interpretation. Both pieces are written in the first rhythmic mode and apply the '*equipollentia* principle',[61] in which long notes are replaced with equivalent shorter ones.[62] This can be seen clearly in no. 88, in which the lower of the two parts marks out the repeated 'long-breve' pattern of the first rhythmic mode whilst, in the upper part, the long is frequently replaced by two or three shorter notes

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[56] The term 'manieres' is employed by a number of thirteenth-century theorists to mean 'rhythmic modes': see C. E. H. de Coussemaker (ed.), *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Ævi*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1864-76), i. 103, 175.
[57] 'Hac rerum manieres varias Natura / depinxit quas tempora diluunt matura', *Ludus*, 22, *17*, stanza 3, trans. Hughes, in '*Ludus*', 17.
[58] See Hughes, '*Ludus*', 17.
[59] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 16-17. Recent scholarship puts the date of Franco's *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* later than previously thought, around 1280, which would explain why Adam and his scribes were unaware of its contents: see Franco of Cologne, *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles (Rome, 1974); also Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. Leo Treitler, Vol. II: *The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. James McKinnon (New York, 1998), 117.
[60] A number of the *unica* also fit into this category.
[61] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 17.
[62] For more information, see William Dalglish, 'The Origin of the Hocket', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), 3-20, at 15-16.

which together occupy the same rhythmic value (see figure 3.1).[63] Similarly, the dance-songs – no. 121, the lai-*notula* and no. 154, the rondeau – exhibit the characteristic long-breve patterning of the first rhythmic mode (see figure 3.2) as does no. 129, the pastourelle.[64]

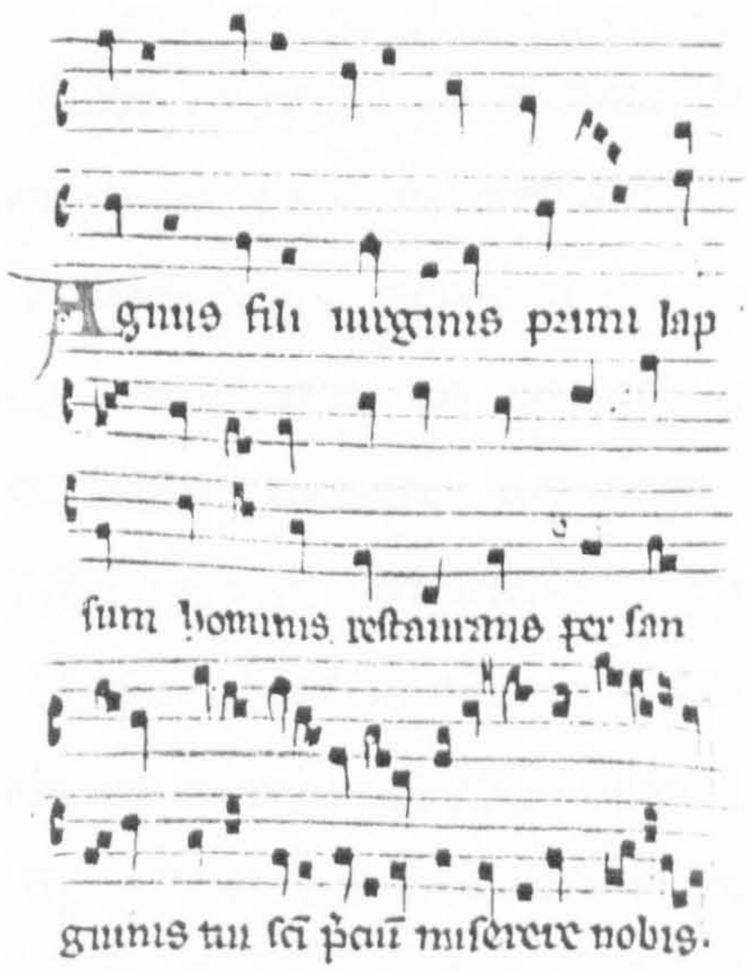

Figure 3.1: Use of the first rhythmic mode in no. 88, *Agnus Fili Virginis*, *Ludus*, fol. 22v

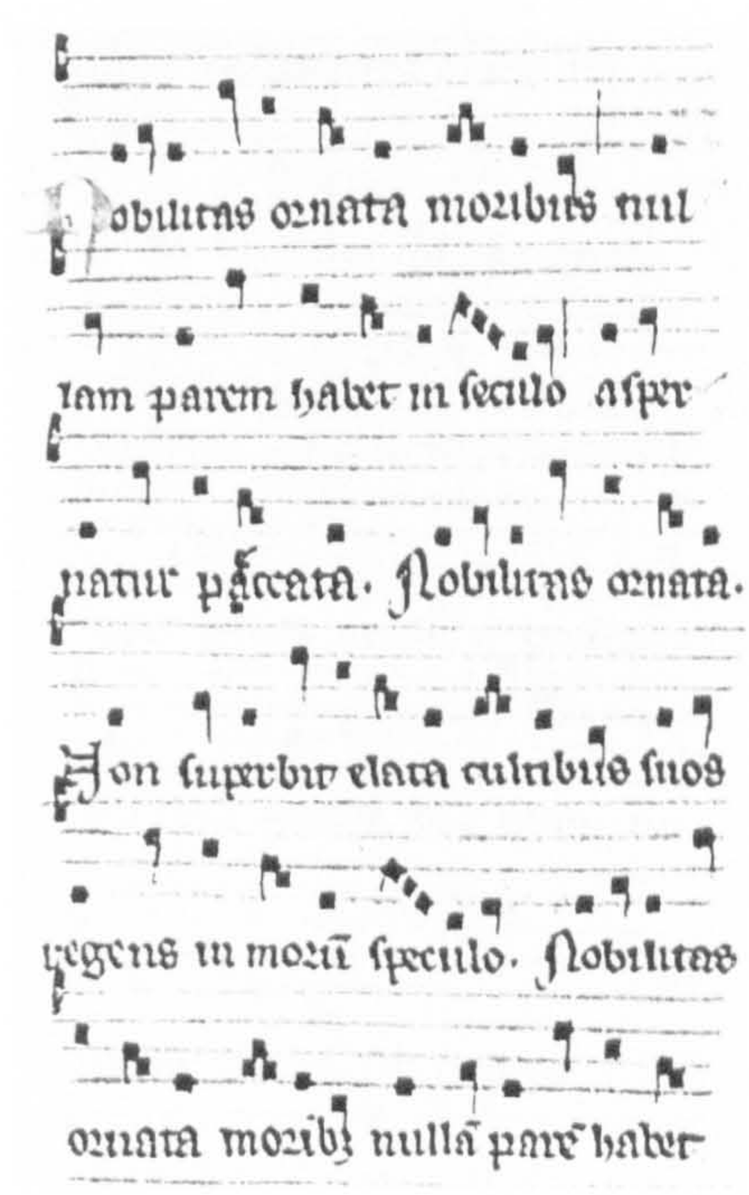

Figure 3.2: Use of the first rhythmic mode in no. 154, *Nobilitas ornata*, *Ludus*, fol. 36r

[63] On page 14 of his article, Hughes provides a diplomatic transcription of the *Agnus*, carefully underlaid to show the ligatures which he presumes to be equivalent in rhythmic meaning. However, in order for this to work in the first rhythmic mode, he proposes that the long in the upper voice on (re)stau(rans) should be a breve.

[64] No. 79, a *contrafactum* of a trouvère chanson, also exhibits features of the rhythmic modes, combining modes 1 and 2.

These items tend to be entirely or predominantly syllabic, employing the two distinct single note forms – the long and breve – in order to convey the simple pattern of alternating long and short rhythmic values of the rhythmic modes, with ligatures used for neumatic figures.

In direct contrast are those liturgical *contrafacta* and *unica* which are recorded using a notational system in which the question of rhythmic interpretation is far less clear. In these cases, there is no differentiation between long and short notes: consecutive syllables are marked by longs only with no attempt made to distinguish between proportional rhythmic values, whilst ligatures are used for neumatic or melismatic passages. Here, the ligature forms are not attributed any consistent mensural significance but instead are employed as in plainchant to signify a group of notes sung to a single syllable. Clear examples of this are seen in no. 75, a *unica* (see figure 3.3) and no. 81a, a *contrafactum* of a hymn (see figure 3.4). Each syllable is marked with a long and the few neumatic and occasional melismatic figures are denoted by a variety of ligatures.

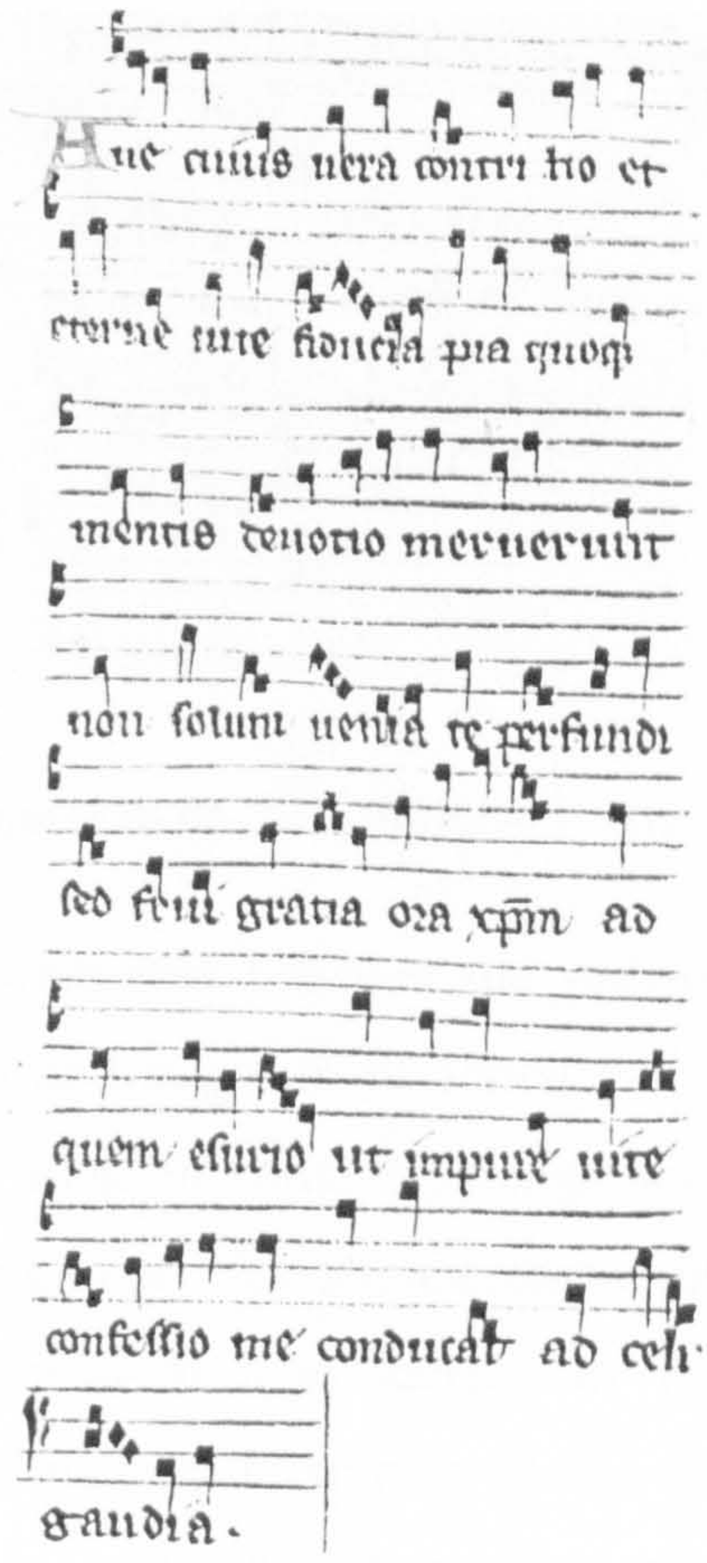

Figure 3.3: Use of longs and ligatures in no. 75, *Ave cujus vera contritio*, *Ludus*, fol. 19r

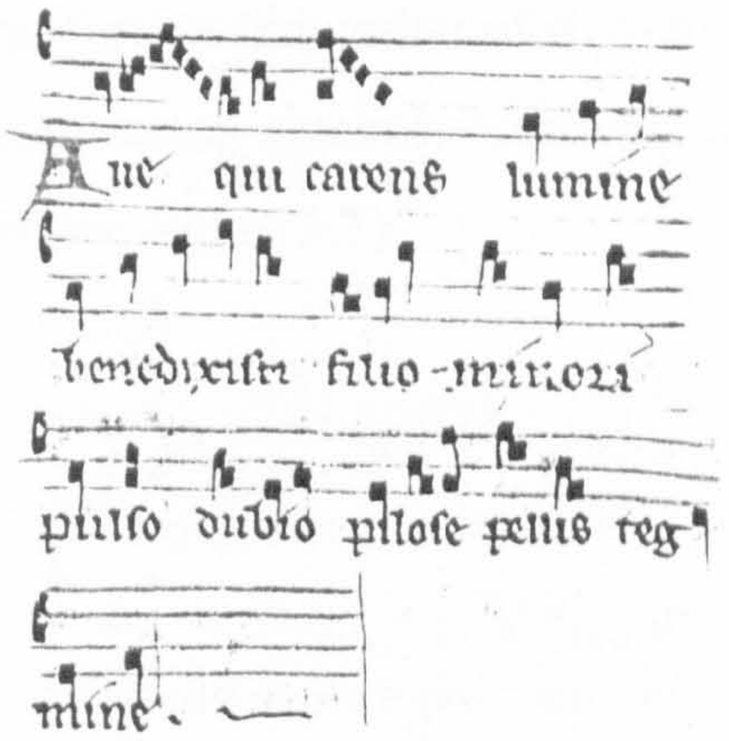

Figure 3.4: Use of longs and ligatures in no. 81a, *Ave qui carens*, *Ludus*, fol. 20v

No. 141, a *contrafactum* of a melismatic alleluia, is notated almost entirely in ligatures (see figure 3.5) and yet a search for mensural significance in these individual symbols proves fruitless.[65] Rather, these ligatures are borrowed from existing square forms, developed from earlier neumatic notations which give no indication of rhythmic values.

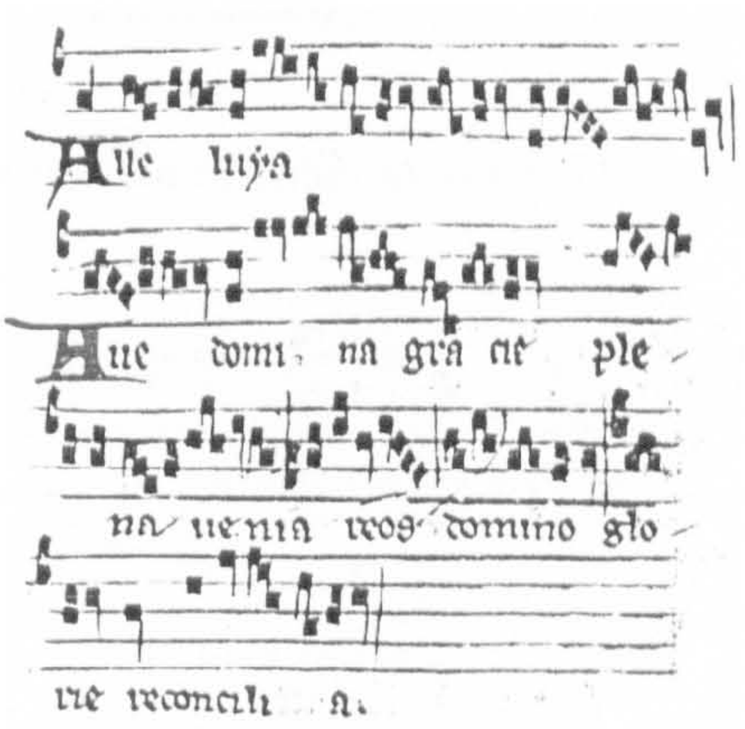

Figure 3.5: Use of ligatures in no. 141, *Alleluya V. Ave domina*, *Ludus*, fol. 33r

Finally, the third category is situated between the previous two, consisting of several trouvère chanson *contrafacta* and a group of *unica* which exhibit traces of measured notation. In these items, the notation combines longs and breves in order to represent longer and shorter note values and provide some connotations of relative speed. However, these symbols are not employed in a systematic or consistent way and cannot be interpreted in any strict modal pattern. Examples of this occur in no. 71, a *unica*, whose notation utilises longs and breves to distinguish between relative long and short note values

[65] For other examples of insertions which are notated in an unmeasured style, see nos. 77, 77a, 81a, 106, 113, 117, 119, 137 and 143.

(see figure 3.6) but provides no further indication of rhythm and no. 83, a *contrafactum* of a trouvère chanson which, despite using symbols borrowed from mensural notation, resists a clear measured interpretation (see figure 3.7).[66]

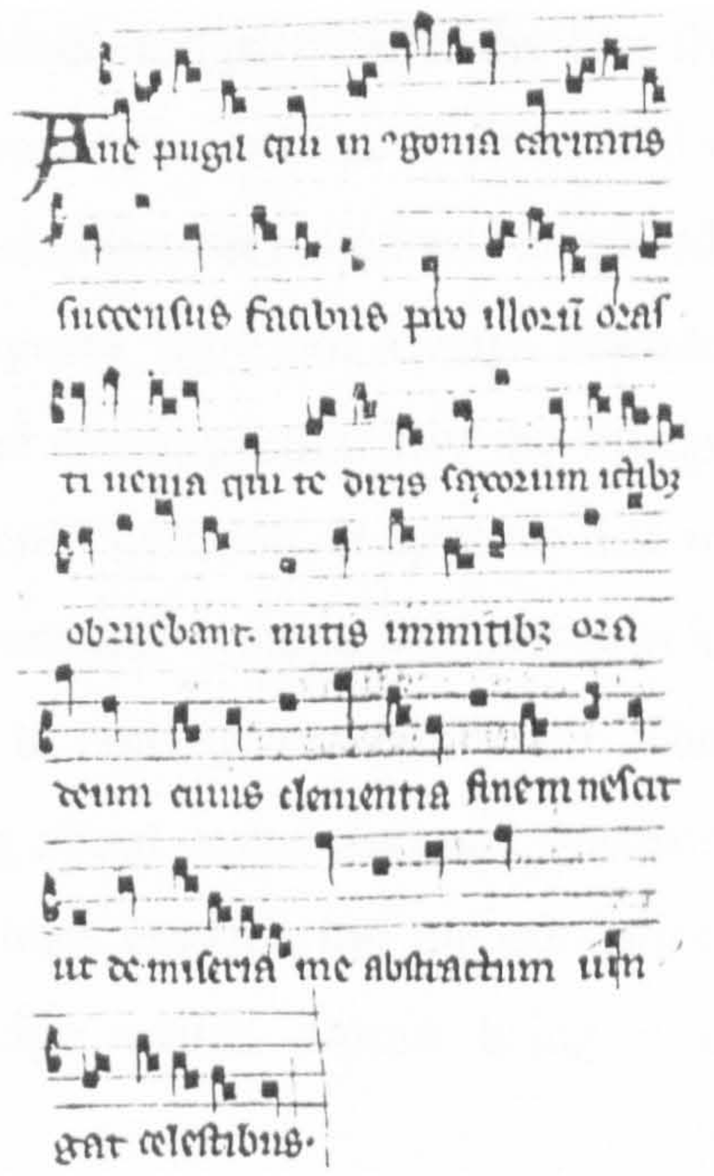

Figure 3.6: Traces of measured notation in no. 71, *Ave pugil*, *Ludus*, fol. 18r

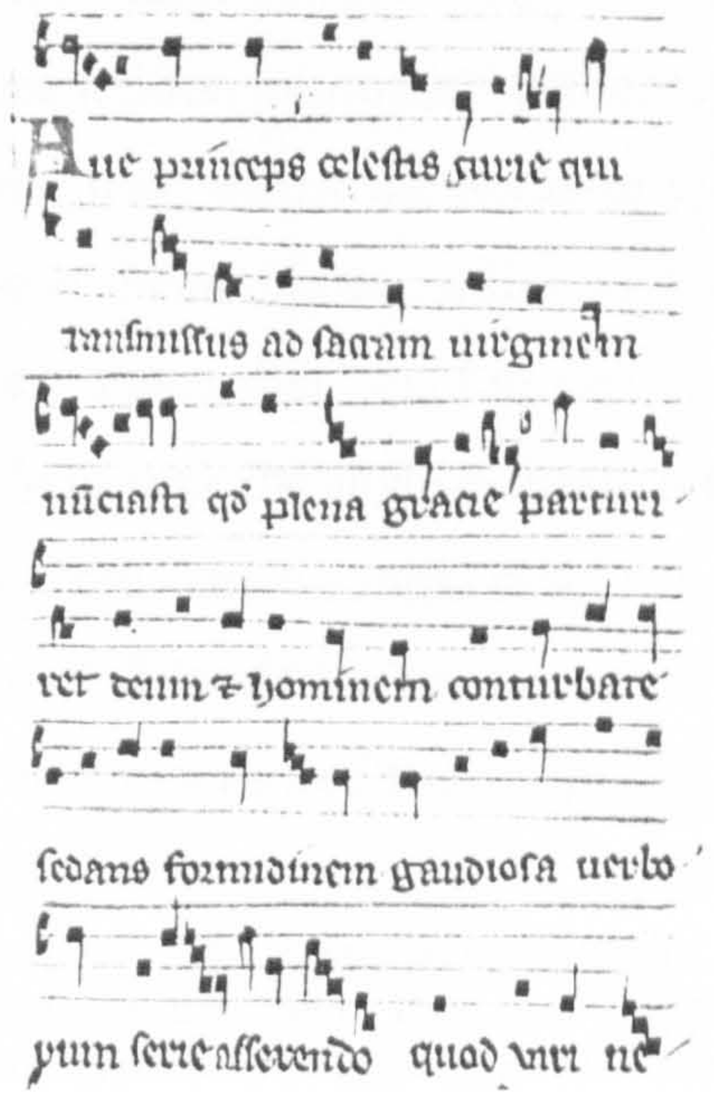

Figure 3.7: Traces of measured notation in no. 83, *Ave princeps cælestis*, *Ludus*, fol. 21r

[66] In his edition of this item, found in *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols. (Neuhausen, 1997), Hans Tischler describes the *longa* and *brevis* symbols used as meaningless. For further examples of insertions which demonstrate traces of measured rhythm, see nos. 37, 67, 81, 85, 111, 115, 125, 127, 131, 133, 139 and 157.

It would appear that the notator of the *Ludus* wished to employ the same style of notation for all of the musical insertions copied into the manuscript, whether or not the notational signs could be interpreted in the same way for the different genres.[67] To this end, *contrafacta* of liturgical hymns and sequences are notated using the same symbols as the *contrafacta* of rhythmic dance-songs, despite the fact that in the original manuscripts they are transcribed with contrasting notational systems and would have been performed in different styles.[68] The relationship between sign and signified is thus called into question as it seems that the notational figures were not always intended to be read as the mensural figures they resemble. In some cases, particularly the liturgical *contrafacta* and the items which contain traces of measured notation, it appears that the notation employed imitates the graphic symbols of the mensural system, without providing an accurate indication of what the signs were designed to convey to a performer. The *Ludus*' notation conveys the impression of a scribe learning about new notational systems and experimenting with their use in a variety of genres, perhaps considering the utilisation of mensural symbols to be a signifier of musical knowledge which would bring a certain status to the *Ludus*' manuscript.

Those scholars who have examined the *Ludus* manuscript all exhibit uncertainty regarding how best to interpret its notation. Bayart disagrees with Carnel's earlier assessment that all the pieces are written in proportional notation following rules laid down by Franco of Cologne,[69] arguing that, whilst the notation appears the same throughout, it has, in fact, completely opposing meanings according to the style of each piece.[70] In his edition of the insertions, Bayart states that, for the pieces which employ melismatic or neumatic writing, it is preferable to seek the rhythm through that of the literary verse which the melodies accompany.[71] For the dance-songs, nos. 121 and 154, he provides modal interpretations whilst for many of Adam's *unica*, several of which contain indications of mensural notation, he offers free, unmeasured transcriptions.[72] Despite discussing at some

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[67] This apparent desire for visual continuity with regard to the notation used provides further evidence that the *Ludus* was designed primarily for a visual, rather than oral, reception and that the way in which an insertion looked on the page was considered more important than the way in which it would be realised in a performance.

[68] Whilst the source models for Adam's secular *contrafacta* are notated using square notation of varying styles, the models for the liturgical *contrafacta*, the majority of which are found in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, are notated with staffed neumes as would be expected for a liturgical manuscript.

[69] D. Carnel, 'Chants Liturgique d'Adam de la Bassée' in *Messager des Sciences Historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie de Belgique* (Ghent, 1858), 254; Bayart, *Ludus*, lxv.

[70] Bayart, *Ludus*, lxv.

[71] Ibid., lxv-lxvi; see his transcriptions of nos. 137 and 141.

[72] See nos. 71, 73, 75, 77, 81, 117, 119 and 143.

length the use of longs and occasional breves in the liturgical items,[73] Bayart chooses not to transcribe these at all. Yvonne Rosketh, in her review of Bayart's edition,[74] agrees that he is right to be hesitant in producing rhythmic transcriptions which would be extremely difficult to execute as the notation is so imprecise.[75] For the secular *contrafacta* she proposes that it is possible to find their correct rhythms from the originals upon which they are based.[76] Hughes, however, reveals this method to be unsatisfactory. In his comparison of no. 79 with its model as notated in the *Chansonnier de l'Arsenal*,[77] he demonstrates that 'the relation between practical rhythm and noted symbol is non-existent, even contradictory'.[78] Rosketh concludes that, despite the various signs of measured notation in all the pieces, the *Ludus*' insertions are by no means fully mensural and, although critical of many of Bayart's transcriptions, she does not offer a viable alternative.[79] Hughes similarly avoids the issue of rhythmic interpretation in his article, choosing instead to supply diplomatic transcriptions for his musical examples.[80] In order to provide sufficient information regarding the *Ludus*' notation and its possible rhythmic interpretations, the musical examples found in this chapter and the transcriptions in the Appendix employ stemless note-heads with the original notational symbols transcribed above the stave.

Despite the many queries which surround their correct interpretation, the presence of the musical insertions within the pages of the *Ludus* sheds light on the way in which the work is to be understood and forms an essential part of its expression. The musical notation instantly demarcates the lyric insertions and distinguishes them from the surrounding text, differentiating between the two central forms of communication – song and speech – which Adam employs throughout his work. Furthermore, it serves an emblematic role for the traditions it represents. Perhaps its most vital role is that it highlights the status of music within the manuscript, revealing that the intrinsic meaning of these insertions is bound up not only in their texts but in their musical settings. Written within a period of great transition and development in terms of rhythmic notation and its interpretation, the *Ludus* manuscript offers us a unique glimpse of an author and his scribe as they experiment

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[73] Bayart, *Ludus*, lxv-lxviii; lxxv-lxxvi.
[74] Yvonne Rosketh, Review, *Revue de Musicologie*, 37 (Feb. 1931), 43-6.
[75] Ibid., 45.
[76] Ibid.
[77] *Le Chansonnier de l'Arsenal: Reproduction Phototypique du Manuscrit 5198 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, ed. Pierre Aubry and Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1925), 141.
[78] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 17.
[79] Rosketh, Review, 44.
[80] Transcriptions of the *Ludus*' items based upon trouvère songs appear in Tischler (ed.), *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, but the rhythmic interpretations given seem, on some occasions, completely contrary to the notational symbols employed by Adam.

with new methods of recording on parchment the songs which they have read, heard and sung.

(iii) Techniques and Patterns of Insertion:

Within the corpus of lyric-interpolated *romans*, much can be learnt about the insertions and their function and required method of interpretation from the way in which they are interleaved with the narrative. In the *Ludus*, no attempt is made to disguise the fact that over half of the insertions are borrowed. Instead, Adam provides the sources of the majority of these songs in the rubric preceding the insertion.[81] Adam's accenting of the sources of his borrowings illustrates the common medieval practice of citation, examined in the previous chapter, whereby sources were specified in rubrics or marginal notes as a means of ascribing authority to a work.[82] Each of Adam's rubrics supplies the title of the original song upon which the item is based, indicating that he intended his readers not only to identify its status as a cited song, but to recall its original text and context as part of its interpretation.[83] However, this is not always the case within the tradition of lyric interpolation. For instance, in *Guillaume de Dole*, Jean Renart claims that his inserted songs suit the narrative so well that the whole is a seamless web, adding that one could well believe that Jean himself composed all the songs.[84] In contrast, Adam clearly meant his readers to notice the *contrafacta*, call to mind their previous incarnation and setting and bring this knowledge to their comprehension of his work.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the methods by which authors incorporate lyrics into their narrative are numerous and are governed predominantly by the particular function of the individual musical item. Adam utilises a combination of compilatory methods, with some insertions serving to represent speech whilst others are merely juxtaposed with the narrative. In the second section of his narrative, Adam employs a conventional method of insertion, attributing the songs to various personages within his

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[81] There are a few examples in which a space has been reserved for the rubric but it remains blank, prompting scholars such as Bayart to suggest that there may have been a source which was not recorded: for example, nos. 71, 75, 77, 113 and 131. However, no sources have been traced and therefore I would suggest it is more likely that the space was left accidentally, by a scribe who did not realise that not all the insertions had a source to record.

[82] See Chapter 2, 63-4; 70-1; 82-7.

[83] Details of the rubrics which precede each item are given in Table 3.3.

[84] See Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, lines 24-29: 's'est avis a chascun et samble / que cil qui a fet le romans / qu'il trovast toz les moz des chans, / si afierent a ceus del conte' (so that everyone will think, and it will seem, that he who wrote the romance composed all the words of the songs, so well do they suit those of the story); translation by Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, in *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1993), 11.

narrative. At the beginning of this section, Nature invites all the Virtues to participate in a ceremony of blessing for the Perfect Man, with each gift accompanied by song: 'Qualiter Natura, formato corpore et spiritu introducto, invitat Virtutes ad dotandum juvenem et cantandum post dotem, ipsa primitus inchoante'.[85] As Table 3.2 indicates, each insertion is attributed to a different character, as the Virtues step forward in turn and present their musical offerings to the Perfect Man. Adam thus creates a context in which singing appears appropriate, a setting that is introduced within the narrative itself. The musical items serve as the medium through which the Virtues are able to educate and instruct the Perfect Man, endowing him with wisdom and moral virtue.

In the first section of musical insertions, however, Adam employs a different technique. Usually, in the quatrain preceding the insertion, the narrative introduces the forthcoming song, detailing its contents. This is then followed by a rubric which provides the title of the song and gives its source where applicable.[86] Yet, unlike the songs in the second section, these items are not cued in or attributed to a particular character in the narrative but are simply inserted into the text without warning.[87] This technique of insertion, known as juxtaposition, is unusual within the corpus of lyric-interpolated narratives,[88] occurring in only a handful of works, one of which is *Fauvel*. In her study of this technique in *Fauvel*, Emma Dillon explains that items are 'either simply positioned in columns adjacent to the main narrative, or inserted, unprepared, into the text itself, in the manner of an illumination'.[89] Within the *Ludus*, this method of insertion causes the musical items to assume a different role, much like that of the commentary which frames the central text in an academic textbook. No longer functioning as the speech of a particular character, they are intended to be read and considered in conjunction with the narrative and they serve as an elaboration or explanation of its themes, in much the same way as an illustration might make explicit a point made in the text. Like a scholarly gloss, these insertions require study in order that their relevance to the narrative might be uncovered. In addition, as Dillon explains with regard to *Fauvel*, this use of juxtaposition 'signals an

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[85] *Ludus*, 114, *110*: 'In the same way, Nature, having formed the body and filled it with spirit, invites the Virtues to endow the young man and then after the gift-giving to sing, beginning with herself'.
[86] See Table 3.3 for examples.
[87] We discover that Prudence hears these songs rising from earth, sung by a penitential soul: 'ad quas Fronesis perveniens, audit eas postulari a spiritu pœnitente et indigente favoris, tribus earum specialiter salutatis' (Prudence, reaching them [the saints] hears the prayers of a penitent spirit, needing favour, who brings them a special greeting), *Ludus*, 76, *66*.
[88] The term juxtaposition is used with reference to *Fauvel* and the *Ludus* by Emma Dillon in *Medieval Music-Making and the* Roman de Fauvel (Cambridge, 2002), 240, after its use in Bent and Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies*: see 16-17.
[89] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, 240.

important shift away from the performative model'.[90] As the musical items are not inserted directly into the narrative, within a performative context, their role is no longer viewed as a performance event but can be read more satisfactorily as additional material for consideration and study. With each technique confined to a particular section, the contrast between Adam's two courts is enhanced, providing a means of characterisation in Nature's earthly court whilst functioning as a 'sonic backdrop' to the court of heaven. Adam's combined use of these two different methods of insertion allows him to enliven his narrative and the characters contained within, whilst simultaneously guiding his readers throughout their experience of his work.

II: First section: Prudence in the Court of Heaven

Each of the two sections of the *Ludus* plays a specific role within the dynamics of the work and has its own distinctive nature which is emphasised by the action taking place as well as the music and texts of the lyric insertions which it contains. As is evident from Table 3.2, the first section containing musical insertions occurs as Prudence reaches the final stage of her outward journey and enters the court of heaven. On her arrival, she is greeted by the company of saints.[91] As she passes each one, she hears a voice rising from earth, belonging to a penitent soul,[92] which begins to sing 'praises and devotions'.[93] The saints are assembled in a specific order and grouped according to their particular class, with several saints appearing individually, as they do in the liturgy. The order is as follows: Virgins, Confessors, Martyrs, Apostles, Mary Magdalene, Prophets, John the Baptist, Patriarchs, Angels, the Virgin Mary and finally Christ. In a passage which recalls the Litany of the Saints, as Prudence passes by each group, the penitential voice utters supplications for intercession. A comparison of this section with a *Commendatio Animae* reveals that Adam inserts his saints in roughly the reverse order of which they appear in the liturgy. This is illustrated by Table 3.6, which sets out the sequence in which the classes of saints appear in both the *Ludus* and a *Commendatio Animae* preserved in the twelfth-

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[90] Ibid., 241.

[91] When referring to the assembled company of heaven, Adam employs the term 'Sanctis'. Amongst this group, we find Old Testament Kings and Prophets such as David and Isaiah, as well as Angels, who are not, strictly speaking, saints. However, I have chosen to imitate Adam's wider use of the term 'saints' to refer to all the inhabitants of heaven.

[92] This is the voice of the poet, Adam.

[93] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 4; *Ludus*, 76, *66*.

century Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 123.[94] As this table demonstrates, whilst the *Commendatio Animae* ends with the Virgin saints, this is where the *Ludus* begins, with special reference to Sts. Catherine, Agatha and Agnes.[95] Adam similarly reverses the order of Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs and Confessors. This serves to create dramatic impact as, by so doing, Adam is enabled to complete Prudence's procession past the saints in a meeting with the Virgin Mary and, finally, the figure of Christ, the central character of the allegory of the narrative.[96]

In a further imitation of the repetitive, formulaic character of the Litany of Saints, Adam employs a repeating textual and musical pattern for inserting his lyric items into the narrative. Progressing through the order of saints, Adam introduces each class of saint with a poetic stanza. This ends with a textual refrain, 'Quos plenus immodici spiritus doloris salutans, sic postulat, indigens favoris'[97] after which is inserted a song, usually a *unica*, although occasionally a *contrafactum* of a trouvère chanson is employed as a means of distinguishing a particular saint.[98] Whichever the musical item, Adam's new text supplicates one of the saints of the class (see Table 3.2). This is then followed by another musical insertion, always a *contrafactum* of a hymn melody, the first two stanzas of which beseech two other saints whilst the third praises the whole class of saints once more. As several of Adam's liturgical models are derived from hymns common to the particular class being venerated, Adam forges a stronger link between the Office of the Saints and this section of his narrative.[99] Throughout this first section, with its repetitive structure reminiscent of the Litany of the Saints, the semi-sacred hymn-like texts, the hymn *contrafacta* and the worshipful action portrayed in the narrative, Adam uses all the means at his disposal to evoke the familiar rhythms and patterns of the liturgy in order to depict for his readers the court of heaven, where Prudence will come face to face with God.

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[94] See Anselme Davril (ed.), *The Monastic Ritual of Fleury: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 123 (101)* (London, 1990), 137-145.
[95] In each class of saint, several are singled out for special mention – it appears that those chosen were the most widely-known.
[96] Two saints, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene, appear out of sequence when compared with the *Commendatio Animae*. These are part of a group of saints who receive individual supplications as they are of particular relevance to the narrative – see below for more details.
[97] 'So the spirit, full of excessive grief, greeting them, needing favour, then makes its demand'.
[98] The employment of a *unica* or trouvère chanson *contrafactum* for the first saint to be venerated in each group serves to reinforce the liturgical hierarchy of the saints to which Adam refers.
[99] See, for example, no. 69a, from the Common of a Confessor Saint and no. 71a, from the Common of two or more Martyrs.

(i) The Litany of the Penitential Soul: Liturgical *Contrafacta* and *Unica*:

As Prudence progresses past the assembled ranks of saints, her procession is accompanied by the sounds of Office-like chanting rising from the penitent soul, sharpening the liturgical tone of this first section. Adam's repetitive narrative structure is replicated seven times, for Virgins, Confessors, Martyrs, Apostles, Prophets, Patriarchs and Angels. As illustrated by Table 3.2, other than nos. 67, 79, 83 and 85, the remaining items are all either *unica* or *contrafacta* of hymns and it is through these items that Adam characterises this section, evoking the continual devotional singing of the Office hours. An examination of a number of specific examples from this section will illustrate Adam's utilisation of his insertions to reinforce the action of his narrative, highlight individual characters of specific relevance and draw out key themes around which the work pivots.

No. 67a:

The first of the liturgical items to appear in Adam's litany is no. 67a, *Ave quæ de Maxentio*,[100] which serves as a supplication to Sts Catherine and Agatha and all Virgin saints. Following the pattern used for nos. 68-69a, 70-71a, 76-77a, 80-81a and 82-83a, the first two stanzas offer praises to two individual saints, whilst the third worships the entire class of saint. As with the majority of songs in this section which venerate the different classes of saints, Adam's newly-composed text is one of triumph and rejoicing, declaiming the honour and bravery of the Virgin saints in the face of their persecution and death. In constructing his new texts for this section, Adam draws heavily on several liturgical and semi-liturgical sources, deriving inspiration from the numerous Offices of the Saints as well as the various legends which recount their Vitae. By aligning his texts with these repertories, Adam is able to refer to elements of an established tradition surrounding his saints, bringing authority to his semi-sacred texts through their use of liturgical language and phraseology.[101]

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[100] Full texts with translations of each musical insertion in the *Ludus* appear in the Appendix of this work.

[101] Further examples include, in no. 69a (stanza 2), sung to Confessor saints, a reference to the legend of St Martin giving half his cloak to a beggar, who later revealed himself in a dream to have been Christ: 'Ave qui partem pallii scidisti / de qua repertum pauperum vestisti' (Hail, you who divided your cloak, with part of which you clothed the poor man you found), see Jacobus Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), ii. 292; in no. 71 (stanza 1), sung to St Stephen, a reference to the saint's martyrdom by stoning: 'qui te diris saxorum ictibus / obruebant, mitis immitibus' (who were slaying you with terrible blows from stones, small and large), see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 45-9; and in no. 77a (stanza 2), sung to the Prophets, the biblical reference to Isaiah's prophecy regarding the Virgin birth: 'Ave certum præsagium / ferens de partu Virginis / dicendo ecce Numinis / Virgo pariet Filium' (Hail you who gave a certain foretelling of the Virgin's childbirth when you said 'Behold a Virgin shall conceive by the power [of the Most High] and shall bring forth a Son'); see Isaiah 7:14: 'Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel'.

The first two stanzas of no. 67a employ familiar imagery by which each saint was commonly identified: the milk which flowed from St Catherine's decapitated body in stanza 1,[102] and St Agatha's severed breasts in stanza 2.[103] This distinctive 'feminine' imagery which evokes the 'Virgin of virgins', Mary, is reinforced in the final stanza which likens the virgin saints to lilies, a common iconographical representation of the purity of Jesus' mother.[104] Within the *Ludus*, the saints who feature in this first section all serve as examples of devout and faithful Christians, each of whom lived a virtuous life and was rewarded after their martyrdom with an eternity spent in the presence of God. Thus, in his hymns of praise, Adam places a particular emphasis upon the faith of each saint, venerating them for their triumph over persecution and martyrdom at the hands of their enemies. Both Catherine and Agatha are worshipped likewise, Catherine for her victory over 'the sword's blow of Maxentius' (de Maxentio … icta gladio) and Agatha for triumphing over 'a cruel and crafty foe' (trux hostis et subdolus).[105] In the final stanza, the Virgins are praised collectively for their beauty and purity before the song concludes, as with almost all of the items in this first section, with a request for the intercession of the saints.[106]

The hymn-like quality and structure of this text is reinforced by its musical setting which is modelled upon the Pentecost Office hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*.[107] The directness and regularity of Adam's text, which consists of four octosyllabic lines, is matched by the simplicity and clarity of the neumatic, predominantly stepwise, melodic writing, with syllabic motion employed to mark the phrase endings.[108] The melody is constructed around a loose arch shape, ascending gently through its first phrase to *c'*, progressing through the second phrase towards an open cadence onto *d'*, before returning

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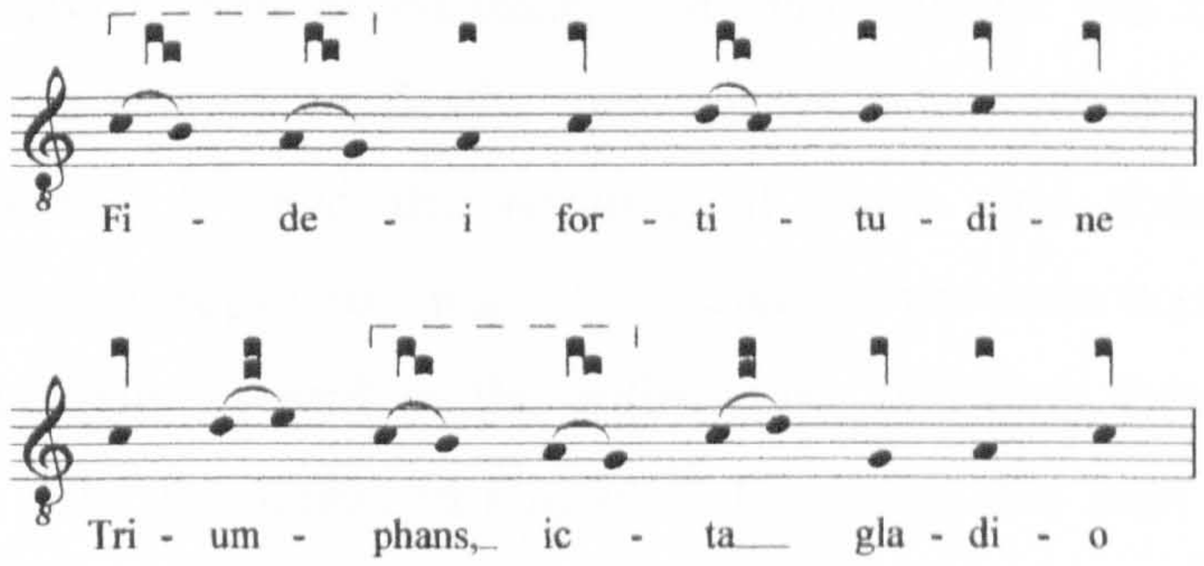
[102] See Voragine, *Golden Legend*, ii. 339.
[103] Ibid., i. 155.
[104] The image of the lily is used in one of Adam's songs of praise to the Virgin Mary: see no. 131, 'O felix custodia / floris pudicitiæ / qui transcendit lilia / candore munditiæ' (O happy guardian of the flower of chastity, which exceeds the lilies in brightness of beauty).
[105] In an additional effort to add local significance, stanza 2 contains a reference to the apostle Peter who, disguised as an old man, visited St Agatha whilst in prison and cared for her, tending to her wounds: 'Ave cujus apostolus Petrus curavit vulnera' (Hail you whose wounds the Apostle Peter healed).
[106] 'Exora pro me Dominum quem fudit viri nescia' (Beseech the Lord for me whom humans' unwitting actions have drowned).
[107] *CAO*, no. 8407. Full details of rubrics and sources are given in Table 3.3.
[108] Within this chapter, the melodic pace of the musical insertions will be described using the following terminology: syllabic, for melodies with individual notes on individual syllables; neumatic, for melodies with two-, three- or occasionally four-note groups on individual syllables; melismatic, for melodies with predominantly four-, five- or longer note-groups on individual syllables. Compared with *melismata* in chant repertories, these melodies would not be classed as melismatic but I use the term in this context to define those items that are relatively more melismatic in their melodic setting.

via *c'* once more to a cadence onto the final of *g*. The rhyme scheme employed in the text (abab) contrasts with the musical structure, in which each strophe is through-composed, employing an ABCD form characteristic of the traditional hymn.[109] Despite the lack of large-scale melodic repetition, elements of motivic recurrence appear, such as the reiteration in the third phrase of the four-note descending figure introduced in the second phrase (see ex 3.3).



Example 3.3: Repeated four-note descending figure in no. 67a

The liturgical items upon which Adam bases many of his insertions, their original texts, associated feast days and additional resonances will be discussed at length in Chapter 5 so, for now, a brief mention of liturgical contexts will suffice. The original hymn text of *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which would have been recalled through the citation of this melody, is an appeal for the Holy Spirit to be poured out upon the people of God.[110] Sung on the feast of Pentecost, this model is employed as a means of emphasising the allegorical relationship between this festival and the pouring of the divine soul created by God into the body fashioned by Nature which occurs later in the narrative.[111] Adam's liturgical referencing does not simply include the specific festival, but extends to the particular time of day at which his liturgical items would have been sung. On this occasion, by citing a hymn taken from the Office of Vespers, the chief characteristic of which is preparation, Adam prepares for the uniting of the body and soul which takes place in the second section.[112] Like many of the hymns cited in this section, *Veni Creator Spiritus* contains numerous themes such as the union of body and spirit, the strengthening through virtue and the defeat of the enemy, which resonate deeply with those of the *Ludus*, serving to foreshadow much of the action of the second section. Standing independently of Adam's

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[109] See Stevens, *Words and Music*, 54.
[110] For the text of this hymn, see *AH*, ii. no. 132.
[111] The importance of the feast of Pentecost to the *Ludus*' narrative will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.
[112] For information on the various cycles of feasts and Offices cited throughout the *Ludus*, see Chapter 5, 241-3.

new text, this cited melody functions as a 'text' itself, conversing with and reaffirming Adam's narrative thread.

No. 69:

The next item to be heard as Prudence continues past the company of saints is no. 69, the first of the *unica*. Serving as a praise offering to St Nicholas, Adam's text refers to several miracles derived from St Nicholas' Vita and liturgy: the freeing of the three innocent children condemned to death: 'qui pueros / tres insontes addictos funeri / perpetrasti abire liberos',[113] and the rescuing of three girls about to be sold into prostitution: 'virginesque stupro non atteri'.[114] Unlike the previous item, which supplicates several saints individually as well as the entire class, this item focuses solely upon St Nicholas and so is only one stanza in length.[115] Textually, this item is less declamatory than those insertions employed to praise a group of saints, and is more narrative in its style, outlining several miraculous episodes from St Nicholas' life. The latter part of the text consists of Adam's request for intercession. As St Nicholas was the patron saint of clerics, it is possible that Adam felt a particular affinity with him and, indeed, in this the first of the *unica*, the customary entreaty to the saints to intercede on his behalf is far more personal than those which precede it.[116] Adam beseeches St Nicholas to pray for him that he would be 'consumed' and 'weep for [his] life's failings'[117] in order that he might eventually join the saints in heaven.

The somewhat more poetic text is matched by a slightly freer melodic setting than those of the hymn *contrafacta*. Adam's text consists of eight decasyllabic lines, rhymed ababbaab, and this metrical regularity is offset by a continuous melody which exhibits no formal repetition. The melody is written primarily in a neumatic style, interspersed with occasional three-note figures: see, for example, the three-note descending figure on the first syllable of 'Deum' (God) and the falling stepwise figure on 'flere miseros' (weep miserably) (see ex. 3.4 a and b):

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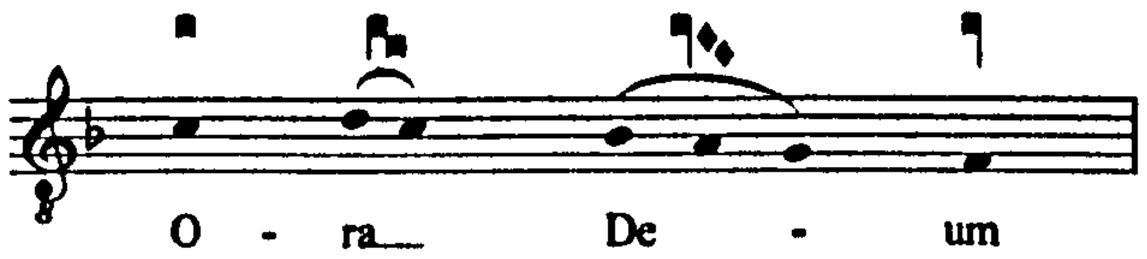
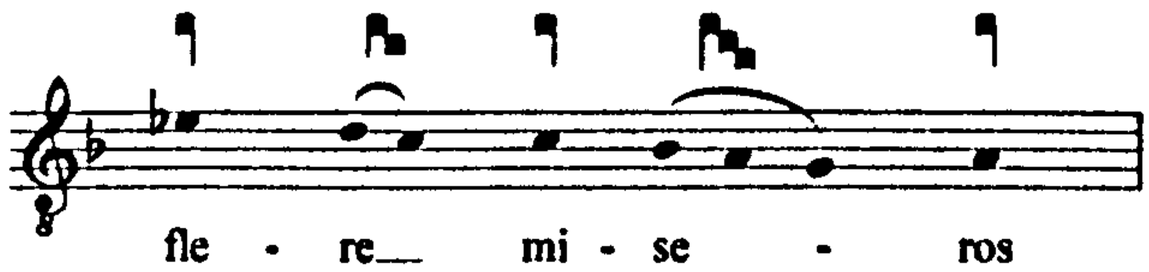
[113] 'who caused the three innocent children, condemned to death, to be set free'; see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 23-4.
[114] 'and the maidens not to be ruined by rape'; see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 21-2.
[115] Despite its narrower focus, the stanza itself is twice the length of that used for a group of saints (consisting of eight lines as opposed to four) and thus occupies a greater amount of space on the manuscript page. Through this pattern, Adam is able to highlight visually those saints of greatest importance within each class.
[116] The entreaties of the *unica* will be discussed below on pages 143-6.
[117] 'Ora Deum ut sic me conteri / largiatur et flere miseros / vitæ lapsus quod tandem Superos / videns, possim his comes fieri' (Pray God that He would grant that I should be consumed and weep for my life's failings, so that at last I should behold the Ones on high and be able to be their companion).

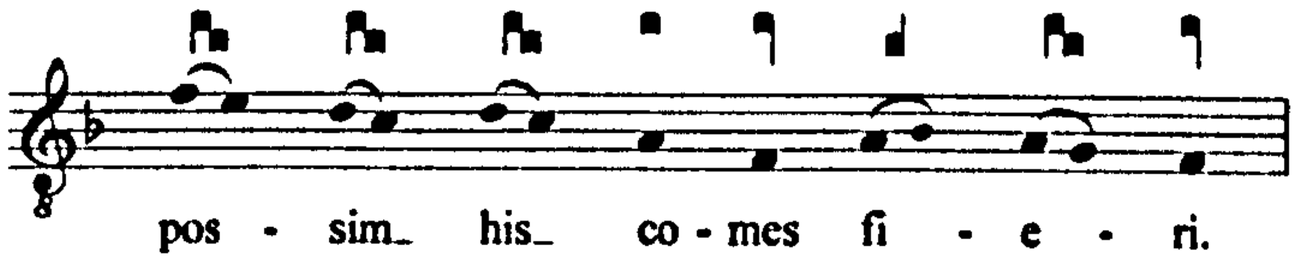


Example 3.4 a: Three-note descending figure on 'Deum' in no. 69



Example 3.4 b: Falling stepwise figure on 'flere miseros' in no. 69

The range of the melody, from *c* to *f'*, is greater than that found in any of the *contrafacta* of hymns or trouvère chansons in this first section, with individual phrases spanning the range of a seventh or an octave.[118] The first half of the piece is structured around the pitch centre *f – a*, extending upwards to *c'* and downwards to *c*, with cadential emphases upon *a* and the final *f*. The change in the syntactic emphasis of the text, from narrating the miracles of St Nicholas in the first four lines to Adam's entreaties in the second four, is accompanied by an upward shift in pitch. The highest note of the piece, *f'*, is reached at the start of line 6 and this is followed, in lines 6 and 7, by the introduction of an E flat which disrupts the 'tonal' stability briefly before, in the final line, the melody descends from *f'* to *f* with a combination of stepwise and arpeggiated movement to a cadence upon the final *f* (see ex. 3.5).



Example 3.5: Stepwise and arpeggiated movement in final phrase of no. 69

No. 73:

Following two items based upon hymns taken from the Offices of various saints (no. 69a and 71a), and another *unica* (no. 71) addressed to St Stephen, is no. 73, an item sung in praise of St Peter, patron of Adam's church. Here, Adam breaks away from his previous musical and textual pattern and supplicates Peter individually. In the rubrics preceding this item, Adam refers to a source – *Virga Jesse* – but no melody matching the

[118] See lines 1 and 5.

one recorded in the *Ludus* can be traced. The textual incipit suggests it to be an item based upon Isaiah 11:1, such as the following alleluia verse: 'Virga Jesse floruit: Virgo Deum et hominem genuit: pacem Deus reddidit, in se reconcilians ima summis'[119] often used on the feasts of the Conception and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Whatever its liturgical source, it is likely, in keeping with Adam's other sources, to have been a popular melody at the time of the *Ludus*' writing and was chosen perhaps more for its length and melodic style than its textual resonances.[120]

More descriptive in its style than the previous items, Adam's new text focuses on the importance of the role played by Peter in the life of Christ. Drawing on the Legend of his life, Adam's text makes reference to Peter being set free from the chains with which he was imprisoned by Herod Agrippa,[121] and his crucifixion by Nero.[122] At the very start of his text, Adam draws attention to Peter's confession of Jesus as the Son of God,[123] which earned him the keys of the kingdom of heaven.[124] As it was Peter, amongst all the disciples, who recognised Christ's divinity, one of the meanings attributed to the name Peter is 'recognising',[125] a fact which offers a further clue regarding Adam's particular emphasis of this saint. Clearly, Peter is primarily venerated individually as patron of Adam's church but in addition he is singled out because of his role in identifying Jesus as the Christ, the promised and longed-for Messiah who would deliver his people from their sins. Within the *Ludus*, Peter figures as a sign, pointing towards Adam's allegorical interpretation of the Perfect Man as a Christ-like figure, a saviour possessing all virtue, with the strength to defeat the powers of evil. Furthermore, Peter's role in establishing the Church, as the stone upon which the temple of the faithful was constructed, 'in templo fidelium summam basem posuit',[126] is of great relevance in a work designed for a clerical community to advise them how to live as true followers of Christ.

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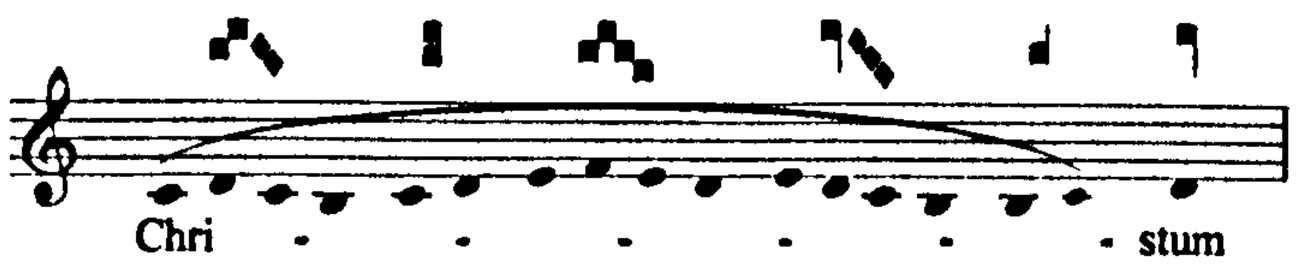
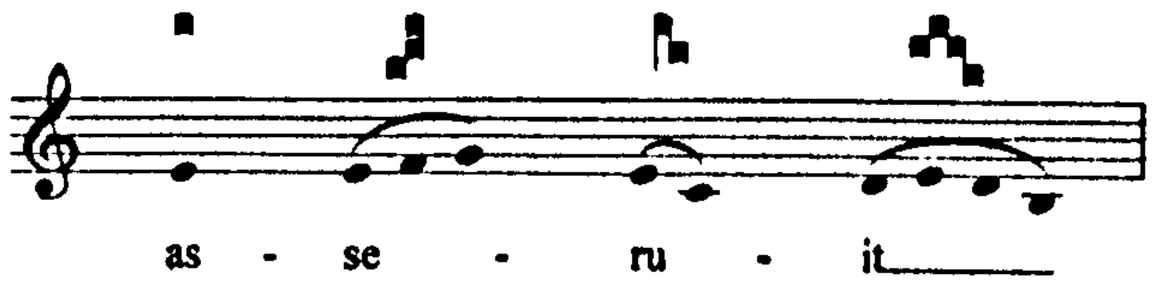
[119] 'The rod of Jesse hath blossomed, a Virgin hath brought forth God and Man; God hath restored peace, reconciling in Himself the lowest with the highest', *LU*, 1267.
[120] See below for more details.
[121] 'Sed eripuit / vinctum vis cælestium / quæ vincla comminuit' (Then a heavenly force set free him who was bound and crushed in pieces the chains); see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, ii. 34.
[122] 'Demum Nero rabidus / ... sitiens cruorem / coegit martyrium / subire credentium / ovium pastorem' (At length, fanatical Nero, ... thirsting for blood, compelled the shepherd of the sheep to endure believers' martyrdom); see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 345.
[123] 'Christum Dei Filium / cum Petrus asseruit' (When Peter proclaimed Christ as the Son of God ...); see Matt. 16:13-19; Mark 8:27-30; Luke 9:18-20.
[124] 'quapropter obtinuit / usum cæli clavium' (thereby he gained the use of the heavenly key); see Matt. 16:19.
[125] See Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 340.
[126] 'He set in place the highest foundation in the temple of believers'.

This item is further distinguished by the melody which Adam selects to accompany his text of praise to St Peter. In comparison with all the other musical pieces employed in this first section, St Peter's entreaty is far longer and more elaborate, accentuating through its length, melodic detail and its physical presence on the parchment, the importance of its recipient. Unlike the surrounding items written predominantly in a syllabic or neumatic style, this florid melody is characterised by a much greater use of melismatic writing as demonstrated by the fifteen-note melisma on the word 'Christum' with which the piece opens (see ex. 3.6):



Example 3.6: Melismatic figure on 'Christum' in no. 73

Although exhibiting no large-scale musical structure, much of the melodic material develops out of this gently undulating opening figure, creating a supple and rhapsodic melody.[127] One melodic cell which occurs frequently is a three-note stepwise figure, appearing in both ascending and descending forms. Drawn from the 'Christum' motif, which consists of a series of ascending and descending conjunct patterns, they may be seen throughout the piece: see, for example, the words '(as)se(ruit)', 'ba(sem)', 'ob(tinuit)', '(gen)tium', 'Re(gem)' for the ascending version (ex. 3.7 a) and '(vir)go', '(fide)li(um)', '(gravi)um', '(e)ri(pu)it', 'per(fidus)' and (mar)ty(ri)um' for the descending version (ex. 3.7 b).

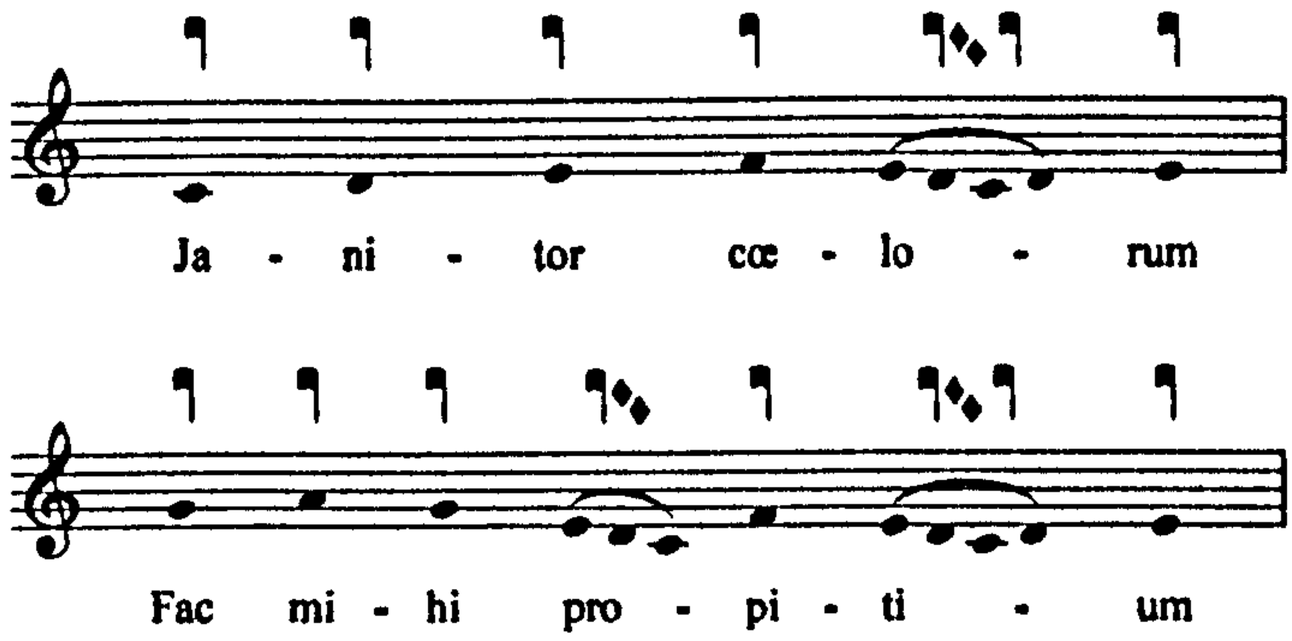


Example 3.7 a: Three-note stepwise melisma, ascending version, in no. 73

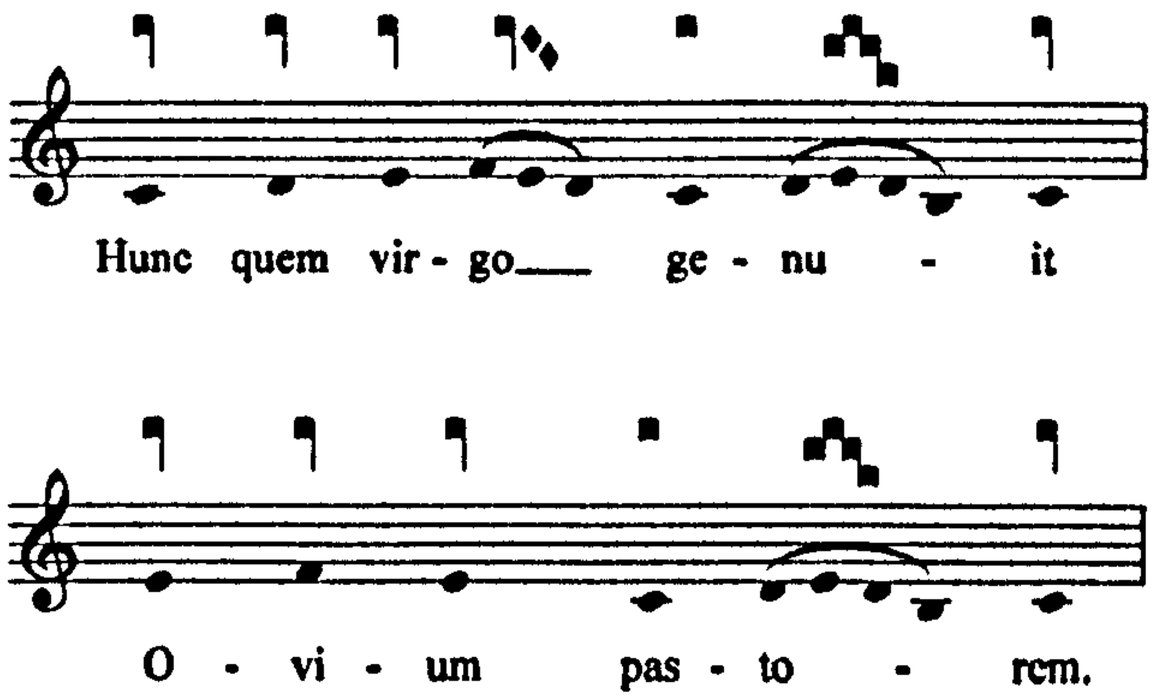
Example 3.7 b: Three-note stepwise melisma, descending version, in no. 73

[127] See, for example, 'Quapro(pter)', '(cæ)listium', 'perfidus', '(Re)gem'.

This melody also utilises several repeated cadential figures: compare, 'cœlorum' and '(pro)pitium' (ex. 3.8 a) and also 'genuit' and 'pastorem' (ex. 3.8 b), both of which show close connections with the opening material.

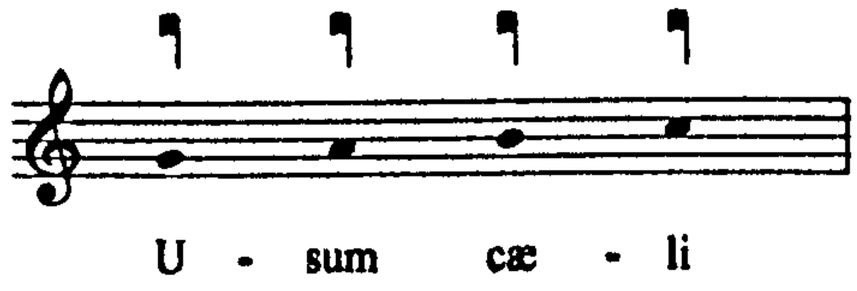


Example 3.8 a: Repeated cadential figure on 'cœlorum' and 'propitium' in no. 73

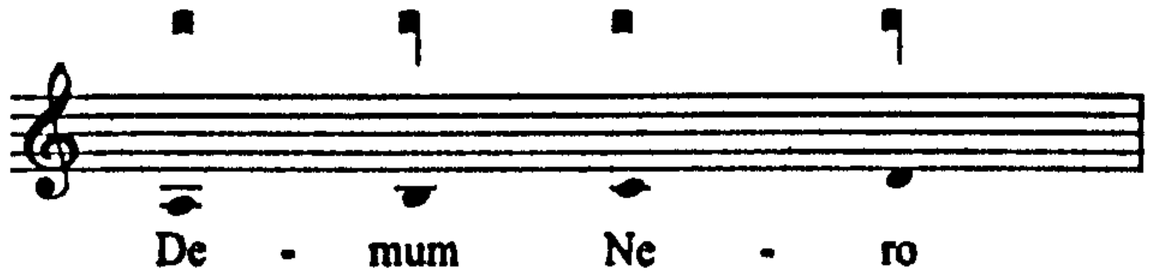


Example 3.8 b: Repeated cadential figure on 'genuit' and 'pastorem' in no. 73

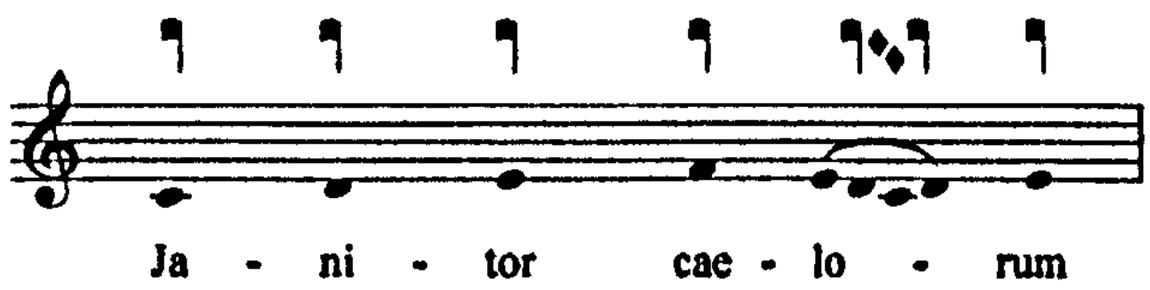
Also inspired by the flowing, stepwise motion of the 'Christum' motif is a figure used at the beginnings of phrases which ascends by step to outline the interval of a fourth. It first appears on the phrase 'Usum cæli' (see ex. 3.9 a) and is then repeated at various pitch levels. Several of these repetitions are 'real', that is, utilising the same intervals, whilst others are 'tonal', in which the shape of the figure is maintained but the semitones occur in different places. An example of a 'real' repetition occurs on the phrase 'Nexus sed e(ripuit)', whilst the first three notes occur on the word 'coegit'. 'Tonal' repetitions appear in the latter half of the piece, at a lower pitch on 'Demum Nero' (see ex. 3.9 b), followed in rapid succession on 'Ac in fide', once more on 'O Petre lux' and in a final transposition on 'Janitor cœ(lorum)' (see ex. 3.9 c).



Example 3.9 a: Rising figure on 'Usum cæli' in no. 73



Example 3.9 b: 'Tonal' transposition of rising figure on 'Demum Nero'



Example 3.9 c: Final transposition of rising figure on 'Janitor cœ(lorum)'

Accompanying its elaborate style and formal freedom is a wider melodic range of eleven notes from *g* to *c″*. The opening phrase is constructed around the pitch centre of *c′*, extending up to *g′* and down to *g*, and this is continued throughout the following six phrases with their cadential emphases on *c′*. With the words 'Usum cæli clavium',[128] there is an upward shift in pitch towards *c″* marked with an appearance of the rising fourth figure, and the next six phrases span the range *b* to *c″*. Another appearance of the rising fourth figure, this time beginning on *a* (on 'Demum Nero'), signals a return to the lower pitch range used at the start of the piece.

From its melodic style and form, Bayart proposes that Adam's model for this item is a processional antiphon.[129] Given its length, which would allow time for a procession to progress from one station to another, and its elaborate melodic style appropriate for an important feast day, this seems quite feasible and, within the narrative context of

[128] 'use of the keys of heaven'.
[129] Bayart, *Ludus*, 262.

Prudence's procession, would appear rather appropriate.[130] By alluding to a processional item at this key point in his narrative, Adam would have recalled to the minds of his readers memories of similar processions performed at St Pierre, perhaps on the occasion of the feast day of their patron saint, involving the procession of his relics. By reserving such a piece within his liturgy of the court of heaven for a saint with great local significance, Adam imitates the familiar liturgical practice of celebrating important saints with more elaborate items, whilst bringing the dynamics of procession into conjunction with his narrative.[131]

No. 75:

Following the invocation of St Peter is another item employed specifically as a means of accentuating a particular saint of importance to the narrative, on this occasion Mary Magdalene, for whom Adam inserts a *unica*. Mary Magdalene does not belong to a particular class of saint, and so, in the *Ludus* as in the Litany of Saints, she is venerated singly. Worshipped as the Apostle of the Apostles, Mary Magdalene is described in the Bible as having seven demons cast out of her by Jesus, after which she became part of a group of followers who assisted Jesus in his ministry.[132] Like St Peter, she was party to several of the central events of Christ's life and, in the medieval Church, was worshipped especially for her involvement in the resurrection of Christ. Mary Magdalene was among the women who went to the tomb on Easter morning and discovered it empty, and was thus a key witness to the news that Christ was risen. Furthermore, according to the Gospel of John, she was the first of all the disciples to see the resurrected Christ.[133] Just as Peter identified Christ as the long-awaited Messiah, so Mary Magdalene, in the midst of her grief, heard the voice of Jesus, recognised her risen Lord and was entrusted with the task of

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[130] A comparison of this item with another well-known example of a Processional antiphon, *Sedit angelus*, used for the Procession at Matins on Easter Day (*CAO*, no. 4858; see Walter H. Frere (ed.), *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century*, 6 vols. (London, 1901-24; repr. Farnborough, 1966), pl. 242; see also W. Thomas Marrocco and Nicholas Sandon (eds.), *Medieval Music* (London, 1977), 23-4) serves to illustrate this. This item, like no. 73, is more extended than the hymns and other antiphons with which it would have been sung. Similarly, the Easter Day processional antiphon comprises a florid, decorated melody which makes use of extended passages of melismatic writing and employs a melodic range of eleven notes (*d'* to *g''*) as does no. 73.

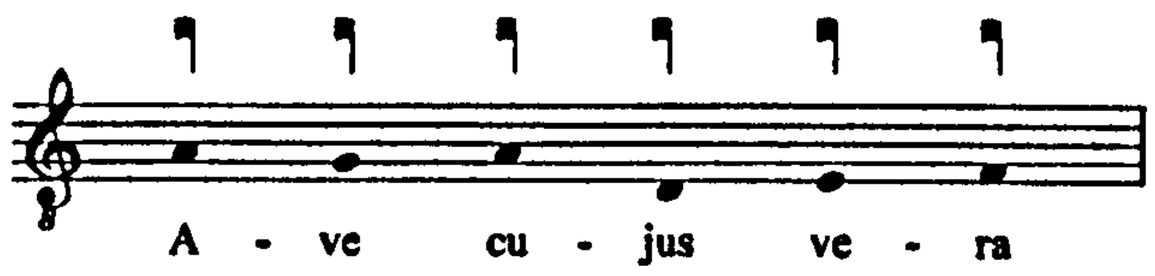
[131] For the relevance of this processional item to the *Ludus*, its themes and structure, see Chapter 5, 255.

[132] See Luke 8:2, 3. In addition to this reference, the Bible mentions Mary Magdalene among the women who witnessed the crucifixion (Matt. 27:56, 61; Mark 15:40; John 19:25) and who returned to the tomb on Easter Sunday to find that Christ had risen (Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:1, 9; Luke 24:10; John 20:1). However, in a sermon given in 591, Pope Gregory I identified Mary Magdalene with Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus (see Luke 10:38-42; John 11:1-2), and the penitent sinner who washed Jesus' feet in the house of Simon the Pharisee (see Luke 7:36-50), a view which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. For more information, see Wyndham Thomas (ed.), *The Fleury Playbook III: Plays of Conversion and Rebirth: Peregrinus; The Conversion of St Paul; The Raising of Lazarus* (Newton Abbot, 2005), i, note 6.

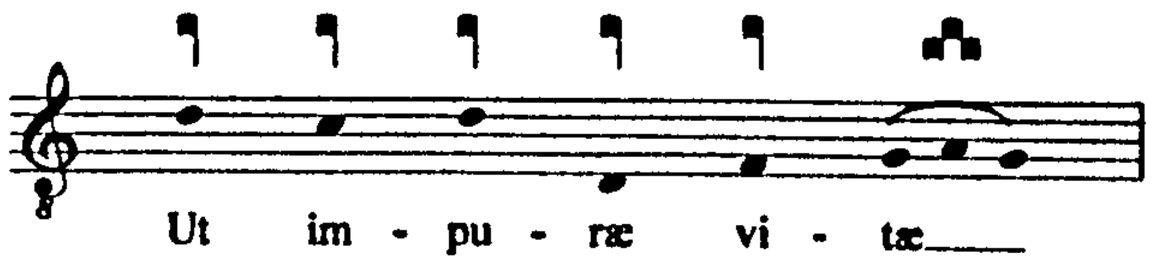
[133] John 20:11-18.

proclaiming this good news to the other disciples. Once again, it is the concept of recognition which indicates why Adam places such an emphasis upon Mary Magdalene. Both Mary Magdalene and Peter recognised the true nature of Christ as God Incarnate, the resurrected Messiah and therefore, within the *Ludus*, they are used by Adam as signposts, signalling the identity of the Perfect Man as an allegorical Christ-like figure, created to redeem humanity from sin.

In contrast to the previous item to St Peter, this item returns to a far simpler combination of syllabic and neumatic melodic writing and a narrower melodic range (*c* to *d'*). Similarly, the melody is structurally more formal than the previous item, employing an overall AAB structure. Adam's text is isometric, consisting of eight decasyllabic lines, rhymed abababba. The abab rhyme scheme of the first half of the piece is mirrored in the musical structure, which comprises a repeated pair of phrases with alternate open and closed cadences. Both phrases share a distinctive five-note head-motif, characterised by a leap of a fifth (see ex. 3.10 a). This motif is transformed at the beginning of the penultimate phrase on 'ut impuræ' as the first three notes are transposed up a fourth (see ex. 3.10 b).

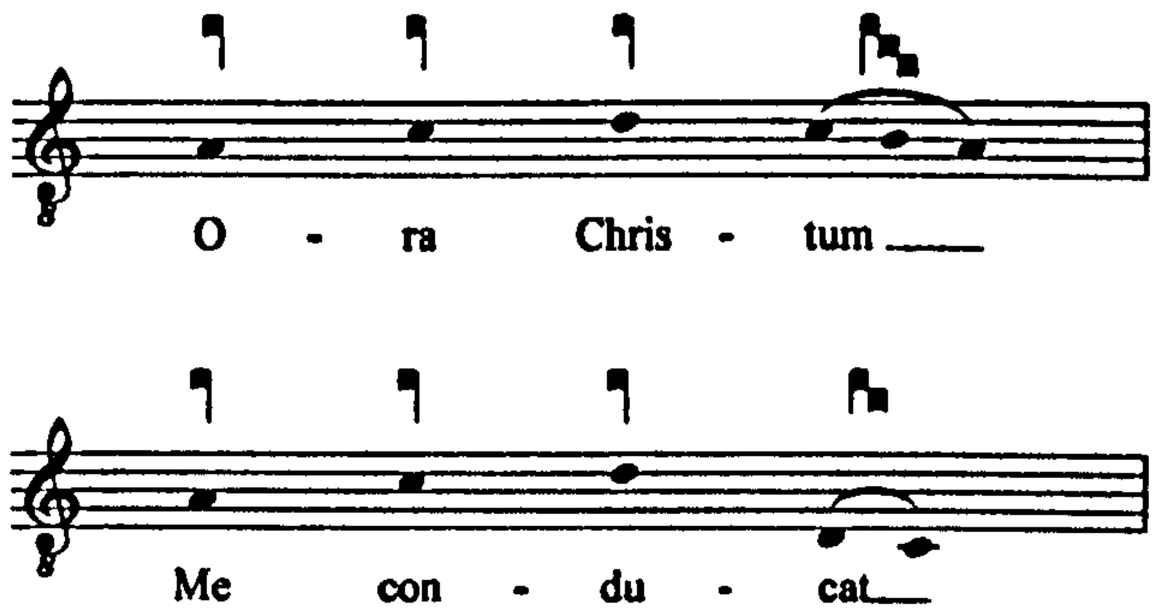


Example 3.10 a: Five-note head motif in A section of no. 75



Example 3.10 b: Transformation of motif in B section of no. 75

Lines 6 and 8 similarly share a rising opening figure, adding an element of structure to the otherwise non-repetitive B section (see ex. 3.11).



Example 3.11: Opening figure used in lines 6 and 8 of no. 75

The opening phrase of the A section, outlining the range of a fifth and cadencing onto *a*, is answered by the second A-section phrase, which maps a descending figure, falling gradually towards a cadence upon the final of *d*. The melodic range of the final three lines is increased to a ninth (*c* to *d'*) and is characterised by a number of octave leaps, always from D to D, on one occasion between the end of line 6 and the beginning of line 7, whilst the other two occurrences are contained within a phrase, in lines 7, '(im)puræ' and 8, '(con)ducat' (see ex. 11 above). Adam's text praises Mary Magdalene for her earnest repentance, exemplary faith and devotion to Christ,[134] which earned for her the outpouring of grace and the certainty of God's favour and forgiveness.[135] For Adam, it would seem that Mary Magdalene serves as an example of a reformed sinner, an illustration of the redemptive power of God, and in his text he is keen to stress the possibility of transformation into a life of virtue, made possible through an experience of the divine.

(ii) Heralding the Messiah: Secular *Contrafacta*:

Among the liturgical *contrafacta* and semi-liturgical *unica* which comprise the majority of Adam's litany, are a number of items modelled upon secular, vernacular songs in the form of trouvère chansons. As seen in Table 3.3, these items are used for St Agnes, St John the Baptist, the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. The presence of these items to accompany a religious narrative and in the midst of numerous sacred insertions raises certain issues concerning why Adam chose to turn to the secular repertory for any of his *contrafacta* models.[136] Undoubtedly, it would have been possible and, indeed, far easier for Adam to select other models from the vast repertory of liturgical music, the corpus with

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[134] 'Ave cujus vera contritio / .... pia quoque mentis devotio' (Hail, you whose true contrition .... and your loving devotion...).
[135] 'meruerunt non solum venia / te perfundi sed frui gratia' (...gained for you not only the outpouring of favour but the enjoyment of grace).
[136] The nature of the relationship between sacred and profane in the *Ludus* is the focus of Chapter 4.

which he was most familiar. Yet he chose deliberately to pick several secular items in what appears to be a creative act, designed with a particular purpose in mind. The latter three of the saints to be distinguished in this way appear together towards the end of Prudence's heavenly procession and are highlighted as they serve a common purpose in the *Ludus*. In contrast, St Agnes stands alone at the beginning of this section and the use of a trouvère item here is directly related to the text of her offering.

No. 67:

St Agnes was one of the most popular Christian saints in the Middle Ages, especially in thirteenth-century France, where her cult was promoted by a number of literary compositions, including a series of verse and prose Old French Lives dating from the mid- to later thirteenth century.[137] Agnes was worshipped for her purity and chastity, despite her many suitors who were attracted by both her beauty and her riches. A young girl, only thirteen when condemned to death, she frequently asserted that she would not marry as she was already betrothed to a heavenly husband who had given her a ring to symbolise his fidelity.[138] These topoi of betrothal to Christ, the Lord's coming as a bridegroom, and the precious gems with which she would be decorated, appear throughout the office for her feast, as seen in these two responsories for the feast of St Agnes:

> Dextram meam et collum meum cinxit lapidibus pretiosis, tradidit auribus meis inaetimabilis margaritas, et circumdedit me vernantibus atque coruscantibus gemmis. *V.* Induit me Dominus cyclade auro texta, et immensis monilibus ornavit me. Et circumdedit.
>
> (He girded my right arm and my neck with precious stones, he placed priceless pearls in my ears, and clothed me in lush and lavish necklaces. *V.* The Lord clothed me in a robe woven of gold, and ornamented me with lavish necklaces. And he clothed me).[139]
>
> Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli serviunt, cujus pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur; ipsi soli servo fidem, ipsi me tota devotione committo. *V.* Jam corpus ejus corpori meo sociatum est, et sanguis ejus ornavit genas meas. Cujus pulchritudinem.
>
> (I am betrothed to him whom the angels serve, whose beauty is admired by the sun and the moon; to him alone I owe faith, to him I commit myself in total devotion. *V.* Now his body is joined to my body, and his blood embellishes my cheeks. Whose beauty).[140]

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[137] See Susan Rankin, 'The "*Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez*" in BN fr. 146: A Catalogue Raisonné', in Bent and Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies*, 421-66, at 451-2; also Alexander J. Denomy, *The Old French Lives of St Agnes and Other Vernacular Versions of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938).
[138] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 101-4; Adam refers to this ring in his text: 'Ora Deum qui te per annulum / subarrhatam decorat gloria' (Pray God, who adorns you with glory by the ring which you are promised).
[139] *CAO*, no. 6436.
[140] *CAO*, no. 6992; translations by Sylvia Huot, in *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, 1997), 87.

In constructing his new text, Adam clearly found inspiration in such liturgical themes, many of which are echoed in this item. Describing Agnes as a jewel, 'gemma', she is praised for her chastity,[141] and for the glory which lies ahead.[142] It is these themes of love, both earthly and divine, of anticipation and of liberation which led Adam to select a secular model for this particular item. Based on the melody of Thibaut de Navarre's *Tant ai amors*,[143] the original text includes a declaration from the protagonist that God has freed him from the lordship of Love.[144] Like St Agnes, he concludes that it is better to love God and to choose divine love over the more 'earthly' variety.[145] It is apparent that the reader of the *Ludus* was intended to notice a parallel between Thibaut's protagonist and St Agnes, as a double lesson in the importance of sacred love. In this item, St Agnes serves to establish the close interplay between sacred and profane, particularly human and divine love, which is woven throughout the work[146] and stands as a model of Christian virtue and devotion to God.

No. 79:

The other three items to be constructed upon secular models, nos. 79, 83 and 85, are distinguished due to their relevance to the narrative and the interpretation of its allegory. The first of these, no. 79, *O constantiæ dignitas*, is inserted as a song of praise to John the Baptist. As indicated in the rubrics, the song upon which Adam models this item is the chanson *Quant voi la glaie meure*,[147] most commonly attributed to Raoul de Soissons.[148] In a reflection of the character of John the Baptist as described in the Gospel accounts, the nature of Adam's text is markedly more dynamic than those which precede it, opposing 'wildness'[149] with 'fiery love'.[150] Praising John for his constancy and grace,[151] the text alludes to his fervent personality, derived from his austere message of the need for

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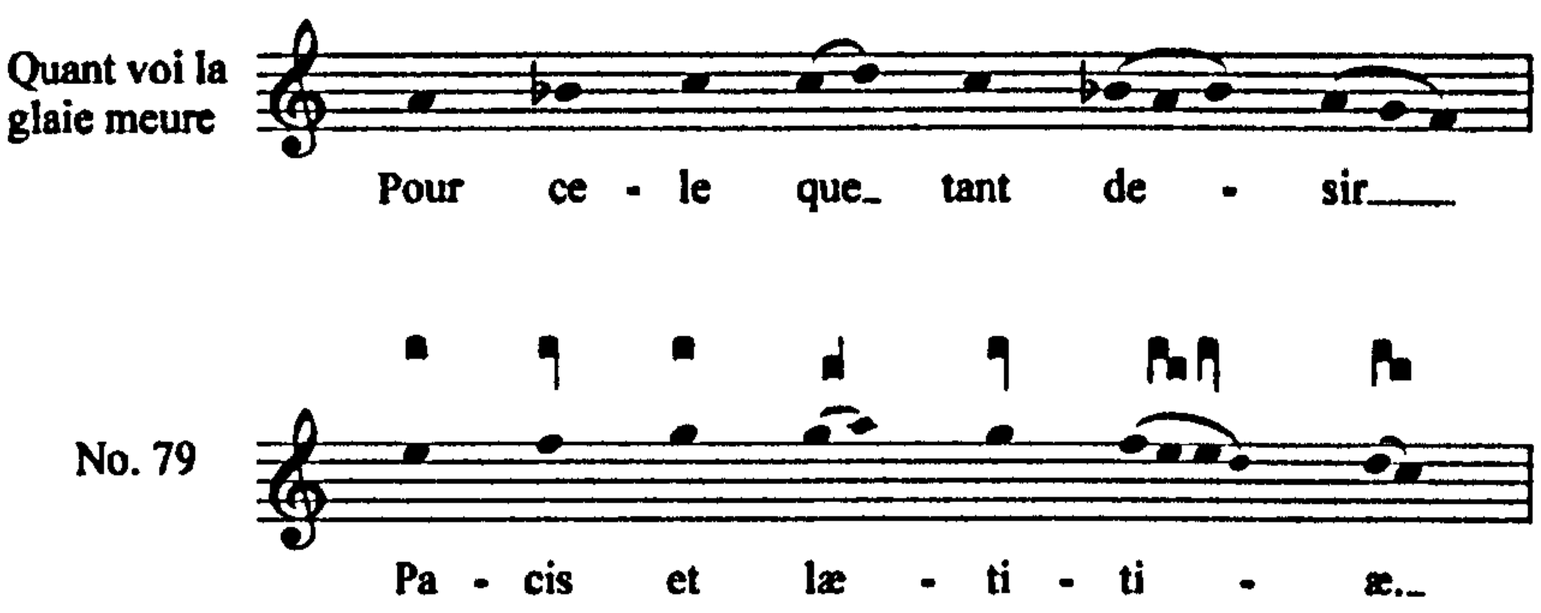
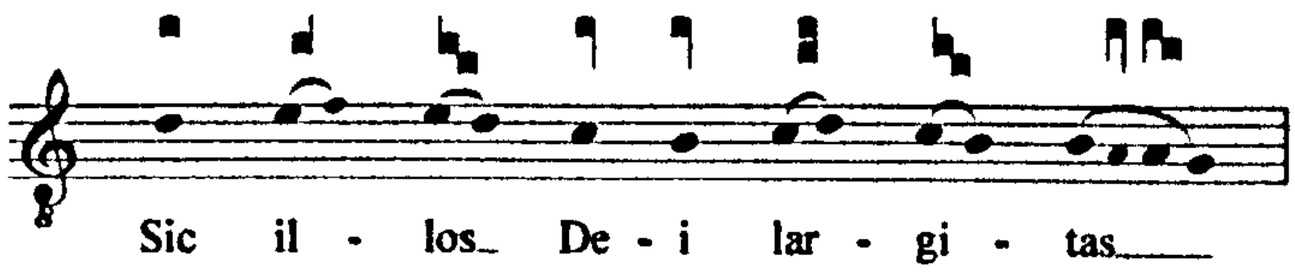
[141] 'præferendo pudoris speculum' (preferring the mirror of chastity).
[142] 'Ora Deum qui … decorat gloria' (pray God, who adorns you with glory).
[143] R 711.
[144] 'Autre chose ne m'a Amors meri / de tant com j'ai esté en sa baillie; / mès bien m'a Deus par sa pitié gueri, / quant delivré m'a de sa seignorie' (Love has not earned me other things. I was in Love's power but God in his mercy has cured me and freed me from Love's lordship).
[145] 'Or me gart Deus et d'amie et d'amer / fors de cele que l'en doit aourer; / la ne puet nus faillir a grant soudee' (God protects me both from love and loving except for Him, whom one cannot fail to adore).
[146] This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
[147] R 2107.
[148] This *contrafactum* of a trouvère chanson and its relationship with the *Ludus*' narrative are discussed in Chapter 4, 205-6.
[149] 'feritas'.
[150] 'fervens … caritas'.
[151] 'O constantiæ dignitas / fundamentum gratiæ' (O you who are worthy for your constancy, O foundation of grace).

repentance in order to be saved from eternal damnation.[152] This message of salvation earned him a name which means 'grace of God', to which Adam refers in line 2.[153] Using several military images, Adam portrays the 'battlefront' (belli acie) of sin against which John fought, earning both for himself and for those which came after him the 'trophy of victory' (trophœum victoriæ).

Adam's rendition of the *contrafactum* melody is very similar to that recorded in numerous other manuscripts. It is closest to the version found in MS K,[154] with several phrases preserved exactly.[155] However, there are a few notable variants, all of which occur at the ends of lines. The first of these is the modified cadential figure which occurs at the end of the fifth phrase (see ex. 3.12). This altered cadence appears again in Adam's version, at the end of line 9 on the words 'belli acie' and a transposition occurs at the ends of lines 6 and 10 (see ex. 3.13).



Example 3.12: Comparison of cadence in *Quant voi la glaie meure* (MS K) and no. 79, *O constantiæ dignitas*



Example 3.13: Transposition of cadence in no. 79

This figure appears only twice in the original, at the end of phrases 6 and 10. As will be seen in the discussion of the *unica* below, this figure becomes something of a musical

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[152] See Matt. 3:1-12.
[153] See Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 50.
[154] Adam's version is a fifth higher.
[155] These are phrases 1, 2, 3 and 8.

fingerprint among these items, suggesting perhaps that its increased use in this *contrafactum* is an example of purposeful recomposition on Adam's part. This repetition which Adam imposes upon his version is part of a wider structural scheme. His text comprises a heterometric twelve-line strophe with the following line-lengths: 8 7 8 3 7 7 8 7 7 7 8 7 7, rhymed ababbbaabcabc. The melodic setting takes the form of a two-phrase repeated A section, the last phrase of which is extended on the repetition, and a four-phrase B section which is repeated with variants, giving the overall form AA^1BB^1. As a result, this veneration of John the Baptist is longer than the hymn *contrafacta* employed elsewhere in this section, setting this item, and the saint whom it venerates, apart, revealing him to be a clue as to the correct interpretation of the allegory of the work.

No. 85:

Continuing this series of secular models, the item employed to venerate the angel Gabriel, no. 83, is similarly based on a trouvère chanson, *Loiaus desir et pensée jolie*,[156] which is attributed in two manuscripts to Martin le Beguin. Adam's text, which details Gabriel's message to the Virgin Mary that she was to bear a son who would be 'both God and Man',[157] glorifies Gabriel for his role in Christ's birth and in the fulfilment of Messianic prophecies. This pattern culminates in no. 85, Adam's offering to the Virgin Mary, the melody of which is a *contrafactum* of *Tant ai amours* by Lambert Ferri of Arras.[158] Extending Adam's practice of employing lengthier items for saints of specific importance, this is the longest musical invocation to this point, consisting of five stanzas in total.[159] In honour of the Queen of heaven, Adam's text for this item exhibits a beauty and sophistication not seen in his other items. His imagery derives inspiration from a wide range of sources, from the liturgy of the Virgin to the trouvère repertory, encapsulating the nature of the Virgin Mary as mediatrix between the human and the divine. Adam's text begins with the image of the rose, 'rosa', the symbol through which both profane love and religious devotion found expression. Frequently employed in *chansons pieuses* as well as courtly love poetry, the rose often served as a point of allegory between an earthly lady and

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[156] R 1172.
[157] 'Ave princeps cælestis curiæ / qui transmissus ad sacram Virginem / nuntiasti quod plena gratiæ / parturiret Deum et hominem' (Hail, prince of the heavenly court, who was sent to the sacred Virgin to announce that she, full of grace, would bear him who is both God and Man).
[158] R 2054. Adam's *contrafactum* model, and the profane resonances it brings to the *Ludus*' narrative, will be examined in the following chapter, 202-4.
[159] Only one of these is set out under the music, the other four are copied below.

the Virgin Mary.[160] Its multiplicity of meaning enabled authors of both sacred and profane poetry and song to employ the rose as a way of evoking several different registers at once, bringing them into discourse, as Adam does in this item. Like a lady in a trouvère chanson, here Mary is worshipped for her 'blushing and tender' beauty,[161] and her 'inestimable' fragrance,[162] yet Adam's text combines images drawn from a variety of sources, with its reference to 'fragrant myrrh'[163] recalling the description of the *Sponsa* in the Song of Songs.[164]

Continuing this floral theme, Adam's second stanza alludes to the Messianic prophecy found in Isaiah 11 in which Mary is described as the 'flower bearing stem of Jesse'.[165] This passage is cited in the responsory *Stirps Jesse* which is used in the liturgy of the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin:

> Stirps Jesse produxit virgam: virgaque florem. Et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. *V.* Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius ejus.
>
> (The stalk of Jesse produced a branch: and the branch a flower. And upon this flower the bountiful spirit came to rest. *V.* The Virgin mother of God is the branch, the flower is her son).[166]

Adam's reference to this in his text evokes both the Marian associations of this responsory and the Messianic content of its biblical context. This allusion resonates with the text of no. 77, sung to King David, who is praised as the 'root' from which came forth a 'gracious branch' and a 'glorious flower'.[167] Adam's item worships the Virgin at length as the mother of Christ Incarnate, through whom mankind is redeemed, describing her as the

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[160] The relationship between the sacred and the profane in medieval culture is explored in detail throughout Chapter 4. The association of flowers and, in particular the rose, with the Virgin Mary originated with the early Church Fathers, who saw her prefigured in passages from the Old Testament, especially in the Song of Songs which was widely interpreted as celebrating the mystical marriage of Christ and his Bride, the blessed Virgin: 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys' (Song of Songs, 2:1). Such images led St Bonaventure to refer to Mary as 'the violet of humility, the lily of chastity, and the rose of charity' (... viola humilitatis, ... lilium castitatis, rosa charitatis), in *Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini*, caput xvii: *De flore humilitatis, quae est viola*, in *PL*, clxxxiv. 669-70. Perhaps the most well-known and widespread use of the rose as a symbol of erotic desire and earthly love is found in the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun; see Félix Lecoy (ed.), *Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1965-70).

[161] 'rubens et tenera'.

[162] 'odor inæstimabilis'.

[163] 'myrrha fragrans'.

[164] See Song of Songs 5:5: 'I arose up to open to my beloved: my hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers were full of the choicest myrrh'.

[165] 'Ave, virga Jesse florigera'.

[166] *CAO*, no. 7709; trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 90.

[167] 'Ave radix de cujus stipite / gratiosa processit virgula / ex qua sine virili fomite / gloriosa prodivit primula' (Hail root, from whose trunk came forth a gracious branch, from which the tinder of a man there came forth a glorious flower).

'chamber of the heavenly bridegroom'[168] and as the vehicle through whom Jesus 'married our nature'.[169] Throughout this item, Adam is keen to stress Mary's role in the fulfilment of various prophecies surrounding Christ's birth, life and ministry, echoing the prophetic utterances contained in the texts of previous songs, such as no. 77 mentioned above, no. 77a sung to Isaiah and Daniel and no. 83 to the angel Gabriel. With its emphasis on Christ's humanity and divinity and his role as saviour and Messiah, it encapsulates the main thematic strands of the *Ludus* whilst simultaneously functioning as a prophecy itself, foretelling the creation of the Perfect Man.

When considered as a group, it is clear that one of the reasons behind Adam's employment of secular items for John the Baptist, the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary within his sacred narrative, is his desire to emphasise and explore the relationship between *cupiditas* and *caritas*, erotic and divine love, and to contemplate the ways in which one is a reflection of, and may therefore lead to, the other.[170] However, when considering the nature of the characters for which these items are chosen, an additional rationale becomes apparent. In this instance, it is not specifically the 'secular' nature of these items which led Adam to select them, but simply their 'otherness' when compared with the liturgical and semi-liturgical pieces which form the bulk of his litany. Both aurally and visually, due to their style, form and length, these secular models exhibit various differences from the other pieces, highlighting their presence within the manuscript and, by association, that of the saints whom they venerate.

For Adam, these three characters served a vital function in the delineation of his narrative and, in particular, in revealing the identity of the Perfect Man. Viewed together, these characters possess an especial relevance due to the roles they played in the announcement, preparation and birth of Christ, each serving a vital function within the history of salvation. In the account of Jesus' birth in the Gospel of Luke, the angel Gabriel announces both the birth of Jesus to the Virgin Mary[171] and the birth of his cousin, John the Baptist, to his father Zechariah,[172] initiating the plan of salvation. Similarly, it was John the Baptist who recognised the unborn Jesus in his mother's womb[173] and went on to preach a

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[168] 'Sponsi cælestis camera'.
[169] 'nostræ fuit naturæ nubilis'.
[170] For a detailed exploration of this theme, see Chapter 4.
[171] Luke 1:26-35.
[172] Luke 1:5-25.
[173] Luke 1:39-45.

baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins, preparing the way for the coming of the Messiah.[174] Finally, the Virgin Mary is venerated as the mother of Jesus, bearing the Godhead made flesh. These three characters are united within the text of the hymn *A solis ortu cardine*,[175] employed as the model for no. 77a, a song to Isaiah, Daniel and the Prophets:

> Grace enters the closed womb of the heavenly mother. The secret womb of the virgin who had not known a man carries its heavy burden. A woman in labour gave birth to the child whom Gabriel had predicted, whom John the Baptist had sensed, while he was growing enclosed in the womb of his mother.[176]

Adam's text for this item, with its reiteration of various Messianic prophecies,[177] points towards the Perfect Man as the new redeemer who will save humanity from sin. Within this context, each of these three characters functions as a sign, indicating the true identity of the hero of Adam's narrative. Their sequence of supplications, which echo several Messianic prophecies[178] serve to emphasise the parallels between the Perfect Man and Christ and reveal the Perfect Man's role as a Messiah-figure, bringing salvation and redemption through his victory over the Vices, the personifications of sin. Through these familiar biblical characters, well known and much loved, Adam signals to his readers an additional interpretative scheme, guiding them to look beyond his allegory to the truth which lies at its heart.

(iii) The Inner Sanctum:

No. 88:

The climax of this first section is an *Agnus* (no. 88), Adam's votive offering to Christ, which completes Adam's litany. Another *unica*, it is central to the work, in both a

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[174] See Mark 1:4-11.
[175] *CAO*, no. 8248.
[176] 'Clausa parentis viscera / coelestis intrat gratia, / venter puellae bajulat / secreta, quae non noverat. / Enixa est puerpera, / quem Gabriel praedixerat, / quem matris alvo gestiens / clausus Johannes senserat'; text taken from *AH*, ii. no. 23.
[177] 'Ave certum præsagium / ferens de partu Virginis / dicendo ecce Numinis / Virgo pariet Filium. / Ave cujus vox conterit / Judæos hoc præsagio / cum Sanctorum advenerit / Sanctus cessabit unctio' (Hail you who gave a certain foretelling of the Virgin's childbirth when you said 'Behold a Virgin shall conceive by the power [of the Most High] and shall bring forth a Son'. Hail you whose voice destroyed the Jews by this foretokening: When the Holy of Holies comes, sacrifice shall cease).
[178] See, for example, no. 83 (stanza 1): 'Ave princeps cælestis curiæ / qui transmissus ad sacram Virginem / nuntiasti quod plena gratiæ / parturiret Deum et hominem. / Conturbatæ sedans formidinem / gaudiosa verborum serie / asserendo quod viri nesciæ / obumbraret virtus Altissimi / arcam loci fecundans intimi' (Hail, prince of the heavenly court, who was sent to the sacred Virgin to announce that she, full of grace, would bear him who is both God and Man. You calmed the terror and disturbance by a speech of joyful words, telling that though she knew no man the power of the Most High would overshadow her); no. 85 (stanza 2): 'Ave virga Jesse florigera / flos hic inquam immarcessibilis' (Hail flower-bearing stem of Jesse, the flower, I say, which can never drop); (stanza 3): 'ave dicta confirmans veteran / Prophetarum. Christi visibilis / facta mater qui et passibilis / mortem crucis tulit post verbera' (hail, you who confirms the ancient sayings of the prophets, you became the mother of Christ made visible, he who was even able to feel pain and endured death on a cross, according to the Scriptures).

physical and a metaphorical sense. Just as in the liturgy, where polyphony was reserved for those saints of greatest importance, so Adam saves his polyphonic conductus for Christ, the only item in the *Ludus* to be notated polyphonically.[179] The text follows the standard three-fold repeated form of an *Agnus Dei*, with its tripartite entreaty: 'have mercy on us', 'have mercy on us' (miserere nobis), 'grant us your peace' (dona nobis pacem). Divided accordingly into three stanzas, the first two stanzas refer, respectively, to Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, whilst the third asserts Christ's 'divine power' (virtute numinis) and contains a plea. In the first stanza, Christ is praised for reversing the effects of the fall of Adam,[180] and in the second he is venerated as redeemer, whose resurrection marked a triumph over the forces of sin and brought freedom and life,[181] topoi mirrored in the Perfect Man's victory over the Vices and his reinstatement of the Golden Age. Adam concludes his text with a declaration of Christ's perfection and sinlessness,[182] again foreshadowing Nature's Perfect Man, before offering a request for peace. With its description of Christ's salvation power, Adam's text is equally appropriate to the Perfect Man and, indeed, defines his role and depicts his work in the second part of Adam's narrative.

In drawing upon the traditions of the liturgical *Agnus Dei*, Adam evokes the image of Jesus the Lamb of God. The scriptural connotations of the lamb without blemish, sacrificed to atone for sins in order to provide forgiveness,[183] enable Adam to reiterate the analogy between Christ and the hero of his narrative whilst looking forward to the climax of the work, the battle between good and evil. Within the context of Adam's allegory, the two melodic strands with which the *Agnus* is constructed are representative of the duality of humanity and divinity, unified in the person of Christ, and simultaneously indicate the parallels between Christ and the Perfect Man. These interpretations are strengthened when Adam's *Agnus* is compared with the only other polyphonic piece in the *Ludus*, no. 135, the motet sung by Concord.[184] Located at the point in the narrative where Concord combines the earthly body with the divine soul in order to create the Perfect Man, the music similarly unites two parts, a secular upper voice with a liturgical tenor. Through its liturgical

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[179] As noted in the previous chapter, the one other polyphonic item found in the *Ludus* is no. 135, the motet, but only its upper part is recorded in the manuscript, the tenor part being signalled by its textual incipit.
[180] 'primi lapsum hominis / restaurans per sanguinis / tui sancti pretium' (who restores at the cost of your blood the fall of the first man).
[181] 'Qui resurgens miseris / extractis ab inferis / dedisti cum Superis / vitæ refrigerium' (You who by your rising gave to those rescued from the lower regions rest from life with those on high).
[182] 'expers criminis'.
[183] See John 1: 29 and 1 Peter 1:17-19.
[184] For an analysis of this item, see below, page 158.

referencing, Adam's use of an *Agnus* at the climax of his first section signals this forthcoming action. In the Mass, the *Agnus* is sung following the prayer: 'Haec commixtio et consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat accipientibus nobis in intam aeternan. Amen',[185] intoned whilst the priest places a small piece of the Host in the chalice. Adam's *Agnus* enacts in musical form the combining of Body and Blood which prefigures Concord's uniting of body and spirit and, with its associated dualities of humanity and divinity, flesh and spirit, *corporis* and *sanguinis*, forges a stronger link between the Perfect Man and Christ.

No. 106:

Detached slightly from Adam's litany of saints, this item brings the first section to an end and marks the culmination of Prudence's time in heaven. Having petitioned God for a soul, Prudence readies herself to return to earth. As she goes to leave, she meets the Virgin Mary and Christ once more and is moved to sing a sequence, with Faith, in their honour. As a final flourish with which to end this section, the piece is sung in dialogue form by Prudence and Faith who perform alternate lines of the paired versicles, with Prudence venerating Christ whilst Faith praises the Virgin Mary.[186] Each pair of versicles, sung to the same music, is linked textually, with each one alternately addressing the Virgin or Christ with praise, before describing a particular (related) deed or characteristic. Again, Adam draws on many established images and poetic motifs to portray each character, as well as alluding to certain metaphors employed in the original text. Thus, in the second pair of versicles, the Virgin is praised as the star of the sea,[187] whilst Christ is praised for calming the storm[188] and, in the following versicle pair, Mary is worshipped for bringing restoration of life[189] and Christ for the end of death.[190] The text concludes with a double petition by Prudence and Faith, who together implore the Virgin and Christ for grace (gratiæ) and favour (veniæ).

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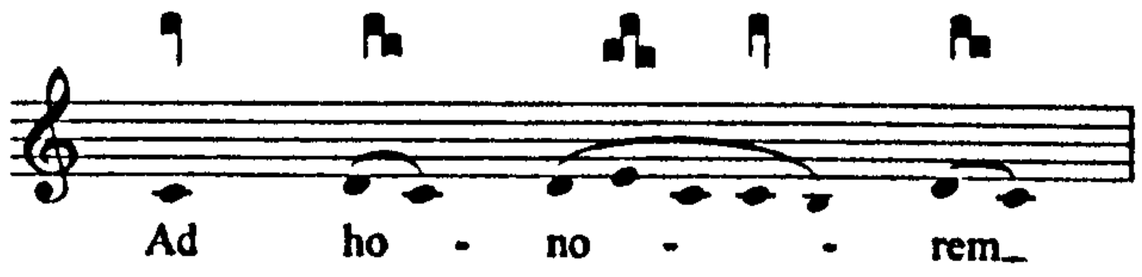
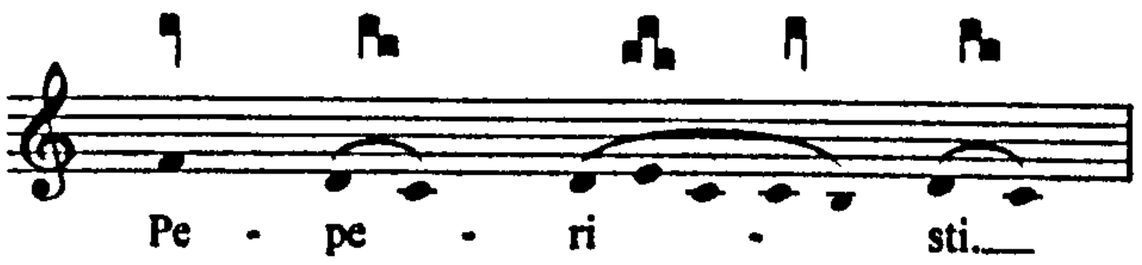
[185] 'May this mingling and consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ help us who receive it to eternal life. Amen'.
[186] Stevens draws attention to hints of dialogue in the earlier sequence *Fulget dies*: see *Words and Music*, 87-8.
[187] 'maris stella'.
[188] 'sedans pestem turbinis / in procella'.
[189] 'vita … reparatur'.
[190] 'cujus morte flebilis / mors damnatur'.

For this item, Adam borrows the melody from the Christmas sequence *Letabundus*,[191] a popular model for the creation of new texts in the Middle Ages.[192] Adam's *contrafacta* follows the melodic outline of his model closely although, with the exception of the final pair of verses, his version is more elaborate, containing numerous passing notes and three-, four- and five-note figures not found in the original. Constructed around the characteristic paired sequence form AABBCC^{1}DDEE^{1}FF, strophe and antistrophe are parallel with no unmatched strophes. As discussed above, there is some metrical discrepancy between the text of the first versicle pair of Adam's *contrafacta* and that of the model, resulting in counterpoint between the textual and musical structures. Aside from this first pair of versicles, Adam's version adheres to the structure of the remainder of the text, although Adam chooses to utilise a more regular rhyming pattern than that found in the original. Much of the melodic material derives from the opening figure on the words 'Ad honorem' (see ex. 3.14 a), including the repeated cadential motif used for each phrase except the very last (see ex. 3.14 b).



Example 3.14 a: Opening figure of no. 106



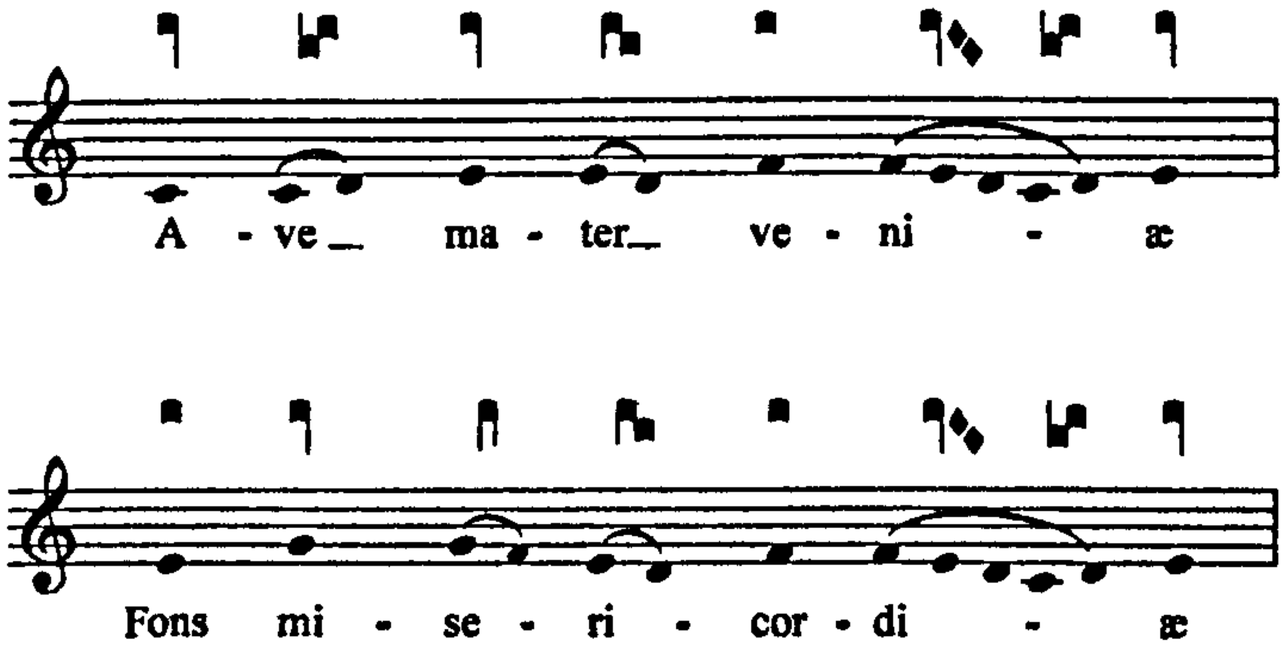
Example 3.14 b: Repeated cadential motif in no. 106

These motifs firmly establish the dominance of *c'* whilst several subsequent phrases are structured upon the pitch centre of *e'* (see ex. 3.15 a). The first three verses outline the range from *g* to *a'*, whilst the fourth and fifth versicle pairs see an ascendant shift in pitch and are centred on *g'* (see ex. 3.15 b). It is in the fifth verse that the higher *c''* is reached, before the melody descends again onto cadences on *g'* and *e'*. This is balanced in the sixth

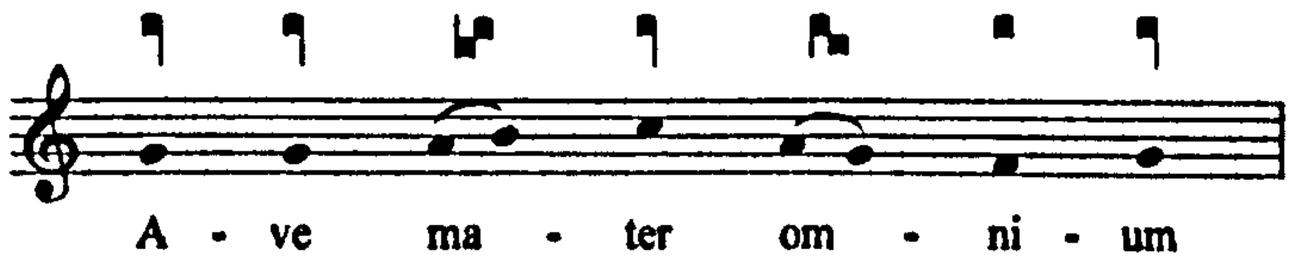
[191] A version of this sequence is published in the *Utrecht Prosarium: Liber Sequentiarum Ecclesiae Capitularis Sanctae Mariae Ultrajectensis Saeculi XII*, ed. N. de Goede (Amsterdam, 1965), 17; see also Stevens, *Words and Music*, 91-5.

[192] From the eleventh century onwards, this sequence produced numerous *contrafacta* and Karl Bartsch in his *Die Lateinischen Sequenzen des Mittelalters in Musikalischer und Rhythmischer Beziehung* (Rostock, 1868), 224-5, gives a list of twenty-six sequences all thought to be *contrafacta*.

verse with the use of the lower range from *a* to *g'*, again based upon *c'*, the final of the piece.



Example 3.15 a: Second verse of no. 106 based upon pitch centre of *e'*



Example 3.15 b: Fifth verse of no. 106 based upon pitch centre of *g'*

The prevailing theme of the text originally associated with this melody is that of exhortation to praise God and rejoice in the birth of his Son, the Lord and saviour of mankind. The parallelism which characterises Adam's text is seen clearly in the original, with the second strophe contrasting the figure of Christ as Sun with Mary as Star: 'Sol de stella', 'sol occasum nesciens, / stella semper rutilans',[193] whilst in the fifth, the 'Jewish blindness' (synagoga meminit, / numquam tamen desinit / esse ceca)[194] finds its counterpart in the truth proclaimed by the 'Gentile verses of the Sibyl'[195] (si non suis vatibus, / credat vel gentilibus / sibillinis versibus / hec predicta).[196] This song, with its many Christmastide evocations, is the last liturgical item to be sung before the creation of the Perfect Man and marks a celebration of his own nativity. Thus, both musically and textually, Adam prepares his reader for the action to follow, through the prophetic utterances contained in his texts, the characters which he highlights and his various

[193] 'The sun from a star'; 'a sun which knows no setting, a star that glows for ever', translation by Stevens, in *Words and Music*, 92.
[194] 'The synagogue remembers but never ceases to be blind', trans. Stevens, in *Words and Music*, 92.
[195] Stevens, *Words and Music*, 91.
[196] 'If the Jews will not believe their own prophets, let them at least believe the Gentiles', trans. Stevens, in *Words and Music*, 92.

liturgical allusions. Following this item, Prudence returns to earth with the soul which is then joined to the body created by Nature and the Perfect Man is born as a new saviour for mankind.

III: Liturgical Offices: The Court of Heaven

In this first section, set in the court of heaven, Adam combines musical, textual and thematic references in order to evoke the liturgy. Accompanying Prudence's procession past the assembly of saints, the tone of this section is one of worship and supplication and this is sharpened by the character of the musical items chosen. With its alternation between sung and spoken verse, its musical evocations of hymns, and its textual referencing of biblical and liturgical material, this first section mirrors the structure and contents of the daily Offices. In his choice of musical items in this section, Adam alternates liturgical *contrafacta*, based upon Office hymns and a processional antiphon, with *unica* and the occasional *contrafacta* of a trouvère chanson, employed to distinguish particular saints. All these items are provided with new Latin semi-sacred texts which derive much of their inspiration from the liturgy and scripture, underlining the devotional and supplicative nature of the section.

By aligning this first section with the simple, repetitive nature of the daily cycle of Office hours, Adam strengthens the themes of private meditation around which the action of the narrative centres, creating an appropriate context within which his readers can contemplate the teaching contained therein. Reflecting the personal, devotional nature of the Offices, with their emphasis upon Man's individual relationship with God, all the musical items in this section are voiced by one character, the 'penitential soul', and contain private pleas for mercy and blessing. As Prudence pauses before each group of saints, both she and the reader spend a moment in quiet contemplation upon each musical utterance rising from earth to heaven, recalling the scriptural verses evoked and ruminating upon the moral and spiritual message offered. As will be explored below, the second narrative section centres on the formal ceremonial act by Concord of the joining together of the soul and body to create the Perfect Man. In direct contrast, this first section is far more reflective in nature, consisting of a series of requests for intercession combined with an opportunity for meditation upon the exemplars of virtue drawn from the lives of numerous

saints and contemplation of Messianic prophecies derived from the Old and New Testaments which, in turn, prepare for the narrative to follow.

Operating simultaneously on another level, these liturgical hymns create a sonic soundscape which provides an 'aural' context for the action of the narrative. The unending chant heard by Prudence, which evokes the 'ineffable sweetness of harmonic modulation' through which the angels and saints in the 'heavenly habitations' 'render eternal praise to God',[197] reinforces Adam's depiction of the court of heaven, a place where hymns resound night and day for all eternity. For Adam, who would have been constantly surrounded by liturgical music, the worship of the Church would have served as a foretaste of heaven, enabling him, as he carried out his acts of daily devotion on earth, to share in this angelic liturgy. Within the context of the *Ludus* with its instructive purpose, the function of this section is that of worship, praise and reflection, allowing its readers to share in an experience of the liturgy and encounter, through the pages of the manuscript, its salvific power.[198] For Adam, and for the readers of this work within the community of St Pierre, the hymns and devotional offerings with which he wraps this first section would have spoken directly of praise and worship, of entering into a holy place and awaiting an experience of the divine. These familiar chants would have thus transported the reader to a higher spiritual plane, providing a glimpse of the longed-for court of heaven, and creating within them an expectation of teaching and revelation.

IV: The *Unica*

As discussed in the foregoing examination of the first section, a number of the *Ludus*' insertions are not preceded by a rubric and, as they are unique to this manuscript, they are believed to be the work of Adam. In the absence of any further evidence, it is impossible to be certain that this is the case but it does seem curious that, whilst elsewhere in the manuscript Adam records his sources scrupulously, he should choose to omit the sources for these items if they were indeed based on pre-existing songs. If these items are Adam's own compositions, this raises the question of why he chose to combine *contrafacta* and *unica* within his narrative, rather than basing each insertion upon a pre-

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[197] Abélard, *Theologia Christiana*, I, 5, in Victor Cousin and Charles Jourdain (eds.), *Petri Abaelardi Opera*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1849-59), ii. 384, cited in Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton, 1974).
[198] The idea of the salvific power embodied in the liturgy will be explored in Chapter 5.

existing model.[199] Furthermore, if these items are not derived from an established repertory, they would not possess the same ability to evoke resonances beyond the narrative and therefore could not function in the same way as the *contrafacta*. Occurring throughout both the first and second sections, these *unica* fulfil a distinct role, according to the section in which they appear. They constitute the majority of the insertions employed in the second section and so require particular attention at this point, before proceeding to an examination of the music of Nature's court on earth. A brief investigation of these *unica* follows, with reference to the various ways in which they interact with the narrative and the surrounding insertions, in order to ascertain the manner in which they operate within the *Ludus*.

(i) The Texts: Adam's Authorial Presence:

The *unica* may be distinguished from the other insertions which surround them by the specific nature of their texts. A comparison with the insertions based on either trouvère chansons or liturgical items reveals that the texts of the *unica* are more personal in their tone and provide an insight into Adam's particular interests and preoccupations. This is particularly apparent in the first section, in which each song concludes with an entreaty. As shown in Table 3.7, the texts of the various musical insertions in the first section are treated differently according to their type. The items based on hymns, with their original contextual emphasis on corporate prayer and praise, are general requests for intercession, on occasion for a group of people. An example of this can be seen at the end of no. 69a, in which Adam prays: 'Deum orate rei ut optatæ / donet ascensum'.[200] Perhaps in an allusion to the personalised tone of the trouvère verse on which they are based, the items with secular models have slightly more specific requests, usually relating in some way to the character being venerated. So, for instance, in no. 79, John the Baptist is asked for mercy

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[199] Within the corpus of lyric-interpolated *romans*, such a combination of pre-existing and newly-composed musical items is rare, with the majority of works consisting entirely of one type or the other. For instance, Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole* uses only pre-existing items such as trouvère chansons and *chansons de toile* which play a vital part of its semantic scheme, with the previous contexts of these quoted items brought into dialogue with the narrative. In contrast, Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* and *Le Voir Dit* consist purely of musical items written specifically by the author for these works in order to serve specific functions within its enclosing framework.

[200] 'Pray God to see fit to grant us the ascent of the chosen'.

for the penitent (referring to John's own message of repentance),[201] whilst in no. 85, the Virgin Mary is beseeched as the mother of Jesus for mercy and compassion.[202]

In contrast, the entreaties of the *unica* are more personal and intimate and refer specifically to the situation of pain, suffering and weariness in which Adam found himself at the time of writing the *Ludus*. For example, in no. 77, Adam makes the following request to St David: 'Ora eum ut pace comite / me de isto petroso limite / ad cœlorum vocet cœnacula',[203] whilst in no. 81, he asks Abraham: 'Ora Deum qui vostis annuens / est suorum, ut post hoc tædium / me ad tuum dignetur gremium / evocare, locellum tribuens'.[204] In fact, several of these pleas imply that Adam considered himself near to death[205] and was reflecting on the sins of his life.[206] In this first section, the *unica* appear to serve as a vehicle for communication for Adam, allowing him to interact with his narrative and make genuine requests for mercy and healing from his suffering.

In the second section, the *unica* assume a different role within the narrative. Whereas in the heavenly court, in which the insertions serve as prayer and praise, here in Nature's earthly court, as the Virtues offer their wisdom and advice to equip the Perfect Man for his forthcoming battle with the Vices, the musical interpolations fulfil an educative function. Amongst these items, it is in the *unica* that we find the heart of Adam's guidance for living a moral life. The *unica* contain the most specific instruction on Christian virtues and include a number of items whose texts encompass clear references to biblical teaching. In no. 113, Honesty sings of the happiness of those who serve God, drawing upon the passage in the Gospel of Matthew in which Jesus tells his disciples that in him they will find rest: 'non molestat quemquam efficio / sed gravitas est in auxilio / onus levat' (he does not burden anyone with duty but is a help to those who are heavy

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[201] 'Sic illos Dei largitas / præmiat quos feritas / non vicit nequitiæ / Sed de belli acie / fervens retulit caritas trophœum victoræ / dignum cæli requie' (So may the generosity of God grant those who are not overcome by wildness but whom fiery love brings back from the battlefront, the trophy of victory worthy of heavenly rest).
[202] 'Nato mater ut potes impera / quod sit mihi in vitæ vespera / misericors pius placabilis' (Bid your Son, as you are able, mother, that in the evening of my life he would be to me merciful, compassionate and appeased).
[203] 'Pray that He would call me from the rocky path to be a companion with you at the heavenly banquet'.
[204] 'Pray God, who is favourable to the prayers of those who are His own, that after this time of weariness He would deign to call me to your breast, granting me [there] some small place'.
[205] See no. 71: 'Ora Deum cujus clementia / finem nescit ut de miseria / me abstractum jungat cælestibus' (pray God whose mercy knows no bounds, to unite with those in heaven me who through [my] wretchedness am cut off from them).
[206] See no. 75: 'Ora Christum ad quem esurio / ut impuræ vitæ confessio / me conducat ad cæli gaudia' (Pray Christ, for whom I long, that my confession of an impure life may lead me to eternal joy).

laden, he lifts the burden).[207] Similarly, in no. 119, Prudence sings of the riches of wisdom in a song which alludes to Gospel teaching, encouraging the storing of treasure in heaven rather than on earth where it can be destroyed: 'Beatus vir qui sapientæ / thesaurizans quærit ærarium / cujus gazas hostis insidiæ / non prædantur fur vel incendium' (Blessed is the man who treasures wisdom and seeks the treasury of which no enemy, no thief or fire preys upon its riches).[208]

Perhaps most significantly, it is in these *unica* that we find examples of teaching which relates directly to the community of St Pierre. The most impressive example occurs in no. 125, which is sung by Justice, and consists of no less than eleven stanzas, each of which contains stark warnings against corruption, injustice and deception within the Church.[209] Another slightly less dramatic instance of Adam's criticism of the Church can be seen in no. 115, Generosity's offering, which cautions against clerics becoming drunk on the 'dregs of avarice' (fæcis avaritiæ), singling out the 'ministers of the church' (ministros Ecclesiæ) for particular criticism. Describing the clergy as affected by a 'draught' of 'insatiable desire',[210] Adam states that there is none who is content with what he has,[211] as avarice spreads like an infection among the clergy.[212] Whether Adam is referring to a specific contemporary situation or simply highlighting a trend prevalent within the Church, it is clearly a matter of some concern for Adam, whose song concludes with the despairing comment that 'one should weep that the dropsical clergy should be so weak'.[213]

In both sections of the narrative, the *unica* are utilised in a distinctive manner and are characterised by texts which contain either Adam's private prayers and supplications or his invectives against, and instruction for, the clergy. These items are framed in scriptural

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[207] See Matt. 11: 28-30: 'Come to Me, all you that labour, and are burdened, and I will refresh you. Take up My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, because I am meek, and humble of heart: and you shall find rest to your souls. For My yoke is sweet and My burden light'.

[208] See Luke 12:16-21: 'And he spoke a similitude to them, saying: The land of a certain rich man brought forth plenty of fruits. And he thought within himself, saying: What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits? And he said: This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and will build greater; and into them will I gather all things that are grown to me, and my goods. And I will say to my soul: Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years, take thy rest; eat, drink, make good cheer. But God said to him: Thou fool, this night do they require thy soul of thee: and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich towards God'.

[209] This item is examined in more detail below.

[210] 'nam haustus ingluvie'.

[211] 'quod non est qui sufficit / veridicat hodie'.

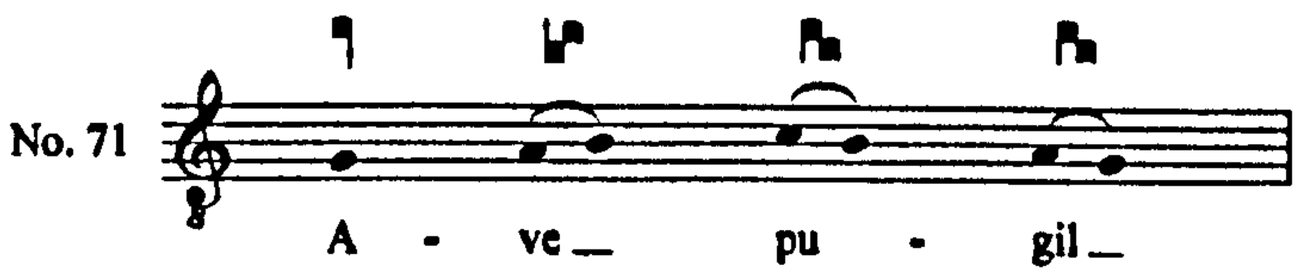
[212] 'et præsertim inficit / ministros Ecclesiæ'.

[213] 'itaque dolendum quod clerici / sic languent hydropici'.

language and employ phrases which evoke the liturgy, enabling Adam to imbue his messages of redemption and warnings against corruption with the authority and substance of the Church, adding weight to his moral instruction. The personal nature and relevance of the *unica* texts allows Adam to engage directly with his narrative whilst permitting him to communicate his intentions and purpose more succinctly. As no source is indicated for these items, Adam is released from the resonances embodied in both the liturgical and secular models – which he exploits to great effect elsewhere – and is thus able to personalise his work, for himself and for the community at St Pierre, affording us a unique glimpse of their daily lives, concerns and interests.

(ii) Musical Characteristics of the *Unica*:

Viewed as a group, the *unica* share numerous aspects of style, structure and form, with regard to both text and musical setting. Although this collection of compositions encompasses an array of pieces, from simple stanzaic forms, to more complex, through-composed items and a two-part *Agnus*, a brief analysis reveals several common stylistic features and distinctive musical characteristics which serve to unify this repertory. In his discussion of these items, Bayart is critical, stating that they reveal the work of an amateur, an 'invalid, quickly fatigued' who produced works that are 'musically feeble'.[214] He continues his criticism of the individuality of these items, suggesting that many of the *unica* appear to have been based on the same model and he asserts that nos. 71, 77, 119, 127 and 133 all have close connections. Indeed, these items do exhibit obvious similarities and are connected via a web of shared motivic material, found especially within their A sections. Nos. 71, 77 and 119 have a great deal of melodic material in common, all of which is derived from the arch-shaped opening figure used in phrases 1 to 4 of no. 71 (see ex. 3.16).



Example 3.16: Arch-shaped figure used in nos. 71, 77 and 119

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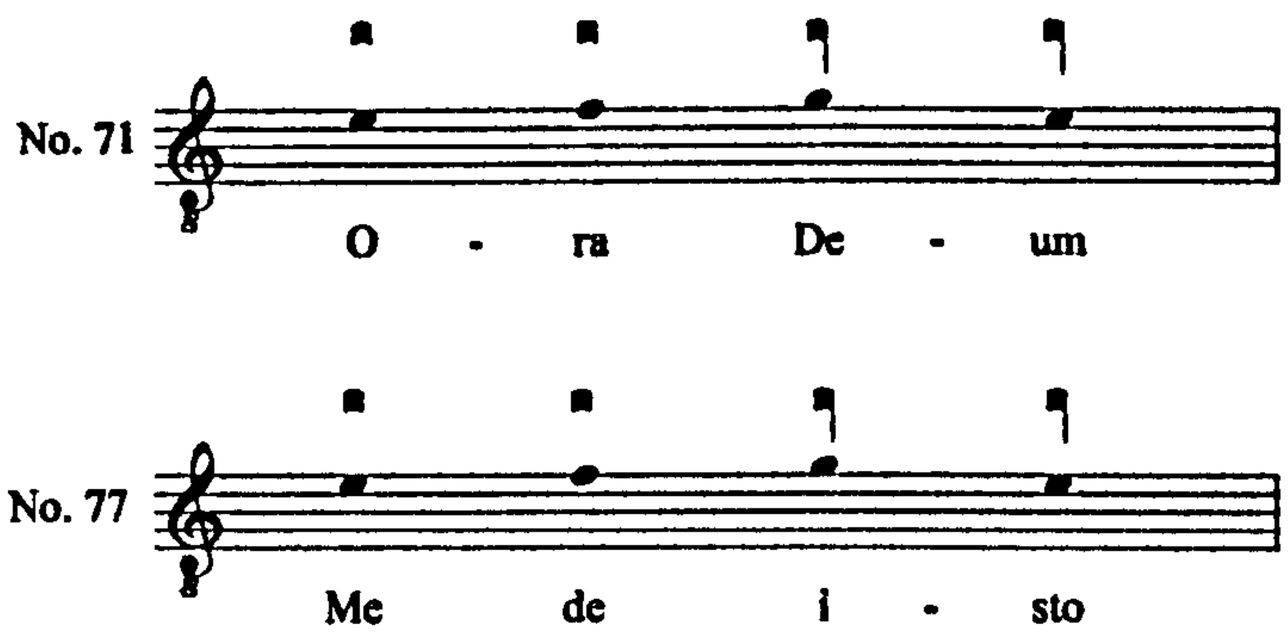
[214] In his criticisms, he follows the judgements of earlier scholars such as Carnel, Coussemaker and Ludwig, who were equally dismissive. See Hughes, '*Ludus*', 15; Carnel, 'Chants Liturgiques d'Adam de la Bassée', 241-264; C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *L'Art Harmonique aux XIIe and XIIIe Siècles* (Paris, 1865), 205-6; Friedrich Ludwig in 'Die Quellen der Motetten "ältesten Stils"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 5 (1923; repr. 1964), 214 f.

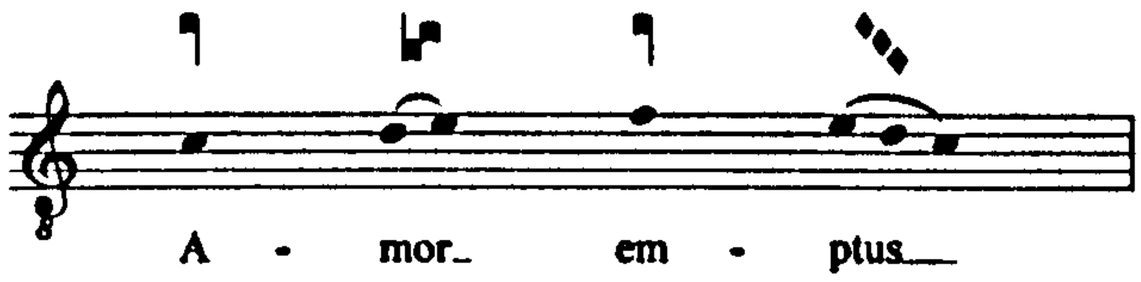
It occurs unchanged at the beginning of the first and third phrases in no. 77 and is also found in lines 1 to 4 of no. 119. Another short motif originating in no. 71, this time in line 6, is found again in line 7 of no. 77 (see ex. 3.17 a), whilst the first three notes are used in the final line of no. 119 (see ex. 3.17 b).



Example 3.17 a: Motif employed in nos. 71 and 77

Example 3.17 b: Variation of motif in no. 119

Of these five songs, nos. 127 and 133 are not so closely integrated and yet they too are linked by the employment of versions of these figures. See, for instance, the opening motif of lines 1, 3 and 6 of no. 127, which transposes the opening figure of nos. 71, 77 and 119 up a fourth (see ex. 3.18). In addition, both nos. 127 and 133 employ a six-note descending cadential figure which appears in various transpositions throughout the other three items.[215]



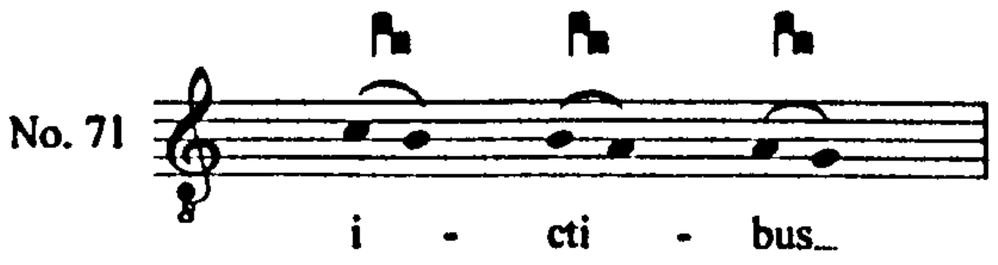
Example 3.18: Opening motif of no. 127

Widening out the comparison to include all the *unica* reveals further traits by which these items are connected. In the first section are six items for which Adam does not

[215] This motif is discussed below.

specify a source melody and, with the exception of no. 88, the polyphonic *Agnus*, the remaining five items utilise identical metrical and rhyming schemes. The texts of nos. 69, 71, 75, 77 and 81 are all isometric, consisting of eight decasyllabic lines and sharing the rhyme scheme ababbaab.[216] Further similarities are apparent in terms of their musical settings, with all but nos. 69 and 88 employing AAB form with a two-phrase repeated A section, followed by a four-phrase non-repeated B section, which sometimes develops motivic material from the A section.[217] The similarities between the *unica* which appear in the second section are not as striking but this is predominantly as a result of their differing narrative function, designed to characterise the various different Virtues and serve as their musical offerings. However, various structural trends can be observed. Several items utilise the same schematic patterns found in the *unica* in the first section, with nos. 119, 125 and 157 containing eight lines of ten syllables rhymed ababbaab. The rhyme pattern abbaabbacc appears in both nos. 127 and 133, whilst nos. 113 and 139 employ variants of this.[218] Although there is some variation in the lengths of these texts (ranging from eight through to twelve lines), with the exception of no. 111, the poetic lines all consist of either seven, eight or ten syllables arranged in predominantly isometric structures.[219] A number of the *unica* in this section are through-composed but, as in the first section, many are cast in bar form or modified bar form with initial phrases being repeated either exactly or with variants.[220]

In addition to these structural tendencies, the *unica* are unified through several characteristic melodic traits. One such feature is a stepwise descending six-note figure, for example C-B, B-A, A-G and transpositions of this (see ex. 3.19).[221]



Example 3.19: Characteristic cadential motif of *unica*

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[216] As the liturgical *contrafacta* are stanzaic, they all consist of four lines and whilst four are isometric with octosyllabic lines, two are heterometric. With regard to the secular *contrafacta*, nos. 37, 67 and 85 share similar metrical and rhyme patterns with the *unica*, but nos. 79 and 83 are different in length and metrical structure.

[217] Although original to the *Ludus* manuscript, the *Agnus* is rather different from the other *unica* as it is composed in imitation of a liturgical item.

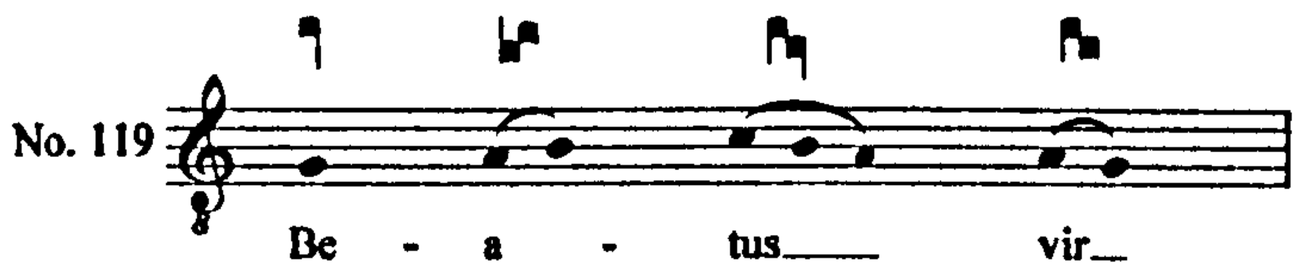
[218] No. 113: ababaabcc; no. 139: abababcc.

[219] Nos. 113, 119, 125, 131 and 157 are all entirely isometric.

[220] Those in bar form are nos. 113, 115, 119, 123, 125, 131, 139; those in modified bar form are nos. 127 and 139.

[221] This figure is sometimes preceded by a descending triad, although this form is usually employed only at final cadences: see nos. 127 or 133 for examples.

Many of the *unica* employ this figure at cadential points (see nos. 71, 77, 81, 111, 113, 115, 127 and 133) and in no. 139 it becomes a key motive, used at the end of the first and third lines and then, in a transposed form, at the beginning of the seventh line.[222] Again, in no. 157, the last insertion of the *Ludus* which serves, both textually and musically, as a summary of what has gone before,[223] this motif appears at the cadence of points of lines 2 and 4 as well as the final cadence. Another typical feature common to many of the *unica* is an opening figure which rises stepwise to outline the interval of a fourth (see ex. 3.20), seen in nos. 71, 77, 119, 125 and 127.[224]



Example 3.20: Characteristic opening figure of *unica*

The third characteristic trait is related to Adam's poetic texts and is unique to the group of *unica* found in the second section of the work. In five of the *unica* (nos. 115, 123, 127, 133 and 139), the final two lines of the stanza introduce a new rhyme and together form a rhymed couplet which summarises the moralistic teaching contained in the song. In order to highlight this feature, each couplet is preceded by a three-syllable word which is outside the overall metrical scheme.[225]

Qui opus accelerat
Nec illud præponderat
Caute notans exitum
Frequenter decipitur,
Simul et illuditur
Votum gerens irritum.
Proinde quicumque ad opera
Tendis, finem pondera.[226]

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[222] This figure also appears in several of Adam's *contrafacta*, first appearing at the end of no. 37, the first item inserted into the *Ludus*. See also nos. 67 and 79 for the other occurrences of these cadences. Interestingly, they are not all original to the source manuscripts, perhaps hinting at intentional recomposition on Adam's part.

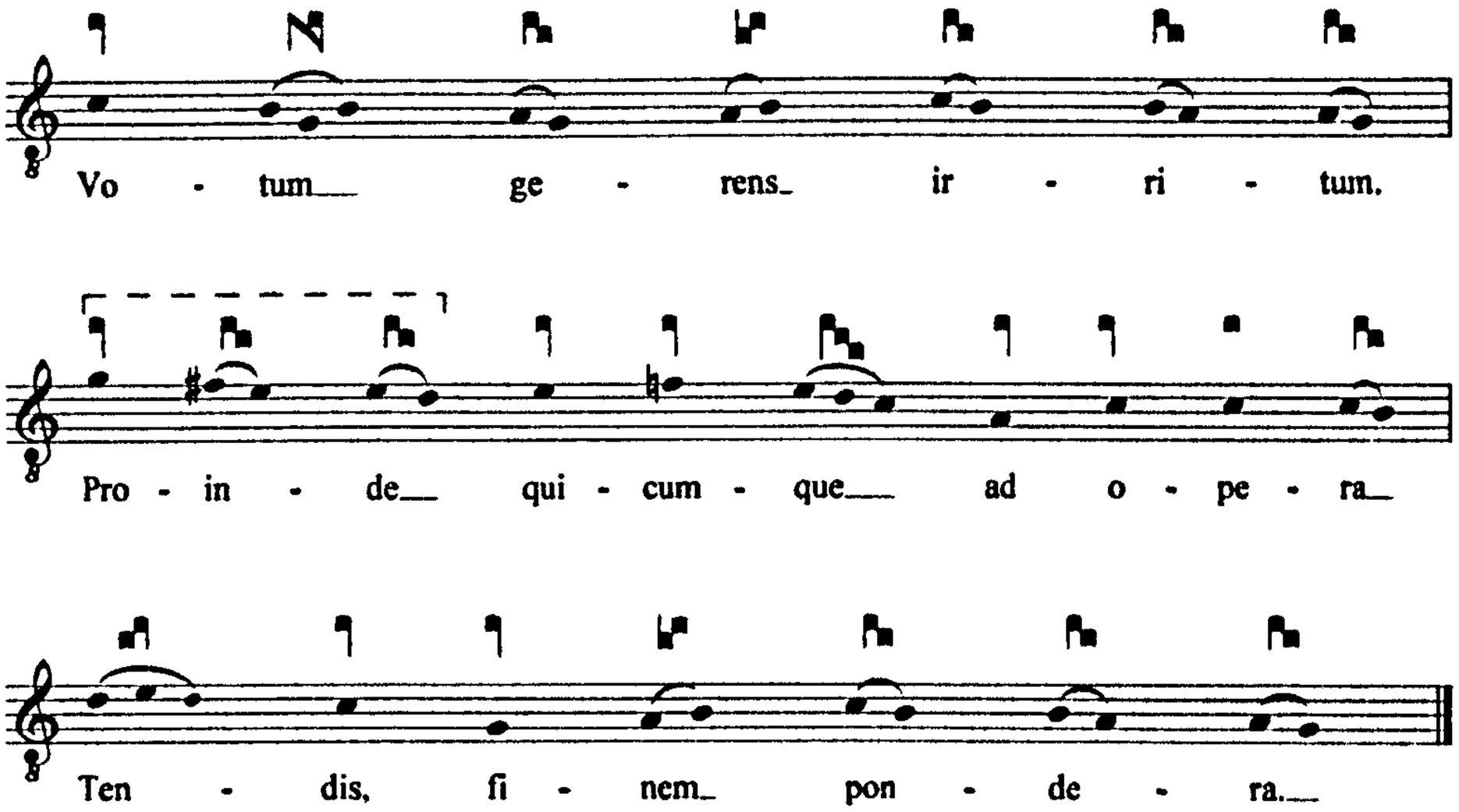
[223] See below, page 164, for more details.

[224] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 15.

[225] An example of a typical syllabic and rhyming structure produced by this device is seen in no. 127: 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 10 7; abbaabbacc.

[226] No. 123: 'He who hastens his task does not think about it beforehand, cautiously marking its outcome, he is frequently beguiled, and at the same time mocked, making his prayer uselessly. *Whoever of you, **then**, are applying yourself to work, consider the end of it*'; emphasis added.

This word serves to introduce the couplet and, in several of these examples (nos. 115, 123 and 127) is further emphasised by the higher pitch of its musical line (see ex. 3.21).[227] Through this emphasis upon the moral contained within these items, Adam reinforces the didactic nature of their texts and the second section of his narrative.



Example 3.21: Rhymed couplet preceded by three-syllable word in no. 123

The frequent appearance of these characteristic musical and textual idioms, which occur in a variety of combinations and permutations throughout the *unica*, creates a sense of unity between these pieces, linking them via webs of common motivic and stylistic features. Considered as one repertory, they display an individual musical language which is informed by, but not slavishly imitative of, elements of the *contrafacta* used elsewhere in the *Ludus*. It is impossible to say conclusively whether the *unica* are the work of Adam, designed and created specifically for use within his narrative. However, the absence of any traceable models and the lack of an indication of any source in the rubrics, despite the other *contrafacta* being labelled so clearly and thoroughly, does suggest that these items were composed for the *Ludus*, rather than being unacknowledged borrowings. Furthermore, the various distinctive features by which this group of items is characterised would seem to indicate that these compositions are the product of one composer and it is perfectly plausible that this composer could be Adam. Whatever their origin, it is clear from their interaction with the narrative that, like the liturgical and secular *contrafacta*, each of the *unica* has a specific role to play within the work, expressing in the first section

[227] See Hughes, '*Ludus*', 15-16.

Adam's personal requests for healing and forgiveness and, in the second, communicating his moral instruction on living a virtuous life.

V: Second Section: The Creation of the Perfect Man - Nature's Earthly Court

To complete this examination of the *Ludus*' musical insertions, we now return, with Prudence, to Nature's court on earth where the action of the second section occurs. As if to emphasise this spatial transition from one location to another, this section exhibits a markedly different character from the first as Adam highlights the various contrasts between his two courts. Here, the assembled saints are replaced by the congregation of the Virtues, presided over by Nature, who takes on an officiating role and directs the proceedings. Occurring at the point where Nature, having formed the body of the Perfect Man, invites the Virtues to endow him with their various gifts and complete their offering with a song, this section employs a far simpler pattern of alternating poetry and song. Following Nature's invitation, the Virtues, Music (on behalf of all the Liberal Arts) and the Followers of Virtues each give a poetic description of their gift before singing a song, usually concerning a particular moral or virtue.

This second section contains nineteen musical interpolations, each one voiced by a different character or, in the case of the Followers of Virtue, group of characters. Unlike the first section, in which the musical insertions are 'overheard' by Prudence as they rise from the penitent soul on earth, here each item serves to represent the speech of a specific Virtue, and so Adam makes an effort to distinguish between the various items included. Employing a device exploited to great effect in later works such as *Fauvel*, Adam uses range, style and genre as a means of differentiating between the Virtues.[228] Thus, in contrast with the first section, which consists predominantly of hymn *contrafacta* and *unica*, with simple syllabic or neumatic melodies, this second section varies considerably from melismatic liturgical responsories (no. 137) and rhapsodic alleluias (no. 141), to largely syllabic secular dance tunes (nos. 121 and 154) and sequences (no. 143), depicting the distinct natures of the various Virtues.[229] The majority of the items in this section

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[228] The compilers of *Fauvel* associate particular genres and styles of insertions with the various protagonists of their story: Fauvel usually sings in French whilst Fortuna sings in Latin. This division is echoed in the vulgar characters of the charivari who sing *sottes chansons* (bawdy songs) in low French whilst the Virtues sing in Latin with texts that are always biblical and liturgical, accompanied by liturgical or pseudo-liturgical chants.

[229] This musical characterisation is further underscored through the employment of a far wider range, from *G* to *c''* (as opposed to *B* to *a'* in the first section) creating the impression that different characters are singing.

(twelve out of nineteen) are *unica*, whilst the remaining items are *contrafacta* of either secular or sacred models, selected for their particular symbolic value which is in some way related to the character of the Virtue to whom they are attributed. Patience, Piety and the Followers of Virtue, representing 'Christian' values, sing songs that are 'religious' in nature, with offerings based upon a responsory, an alleluia and a sequence. In contrast, Music sings a secular dance-song concerning the art of music, Humility sings a low-style pastourelle and Nobility sings of noble birth and refinement based upon an unknown secular model.

As well as personifying the many characters who feature in this section, this second group of insertions plays an important role within the didactic framework of the narrative. In a work designed to encourage the living of a life of virtue, the texts of these interpolations provide specific lessons as to how this is to be achieved. Each one encapsulates a particular moral message, intended to strengthen the Perfect Man and equip him for his battle with the Vices. Yet, when the *Ludus* is read as an example of advice literature, created to inspire and instruct, the message of these songs may be seen to have a dual target, both inside the narrative and outside.[230] As well as offering the Perfect Man advice, each insertion serves to educate Adam's audience in the way of morality. As each Virtue presents the newly-created Man with a gift of a particular virtue in order that he might be perfect, lacking in no moral attribute and free from sin, their musical offering provides the reader with a succinct discourse on one specific aspect of living a good Christian life, guiding and educating both Adam's hero and his audience in the path of holiness.

(i) Secular *Contrafacta*: Music, Humility and Concord:

No. 121:

The first *contrafactum* to appear in this section is a contemporary dance-song, a lai-*notula* which serves as the offering of Music.[231] Although indicating in its rubrics that it is modelled on a pre-existing song, *De juer et de baler ne quic mais avoir talent*,[232] no source

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[230] See Chapter 6, 293-4 for more information.
[231] Few examples survive with the designation 'lai-*notula*'. Reese, in *Music in the Middle Ages*, 226-7, provides two examples which are constructed around double versicles. Adam's version, with its sequential structure (see below) is much like a *lai*.
[232] R 767a.

can be traced for this item.[233] Adam's new text for Music's offering provides an account of the art of music, stressing the importance of the study of harmony and melody[234] and listing a number of instruments: *tympanistria*, *viella* and *psalterium*.[235] The very last section of this text appears to have been inspired by Isaiah 24:8, derived from a passage which prophecies the impending judgement upon the earth: 'The mirth of timbrels hath ceased, the noise of them that rejoice is ended, the melody of the harp is silent'.[236] This topos of the coming judgement of mankind resonates strongly with the overarching theme of the *Ludus*, manifested in the creation of the Perfect Man to save humanity from its fate.

In a summary of one of the guiding principles of the *Ludus*, Music sings that, when people were concerned with harmony and concordant sounds in melody, the world was a place of concord, in which people lived in peace,[237] rather like the Golden Age depicted at the close of the narrative. Adam links this study of music with love, purity and even holiness of mind, reinforcing the ethos of his work. However, the text continues that this is no longer the case, that the world has altered and mankind is consumed by sin,[238] a situation reminiscent of that with which the poem begins. The text equates the seeking of self-interest, pride, envy, hypocrisy and various other vices with the absence of music. With its emphasis upon the necessity of music as an agent for moral goodness, this song serves to encapsulate many of the key features of the *Ludus*' narrative and acts as a summary, not only of its plot, but of its function. It is fitting that this song should be voiced by Music as it enunciates one of the central themes of the work, the uniting and controlling function of music and its ability to inspire moral virtue and spiritual purity.[239]

Adam's text is divided into paired verses, all but one of which are isometric consisting of four lines of seven syllables,[240] and employing a straightforward rhyme scheme: abab / cbcb / abab / abab / abab / abab. This is accompanied by a very simple and

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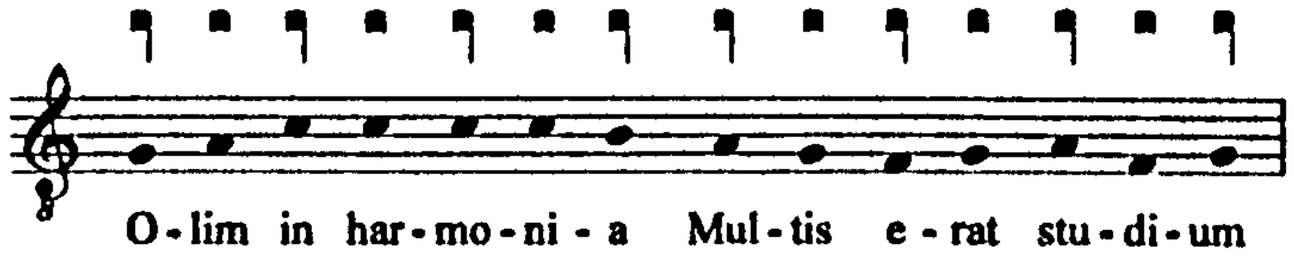
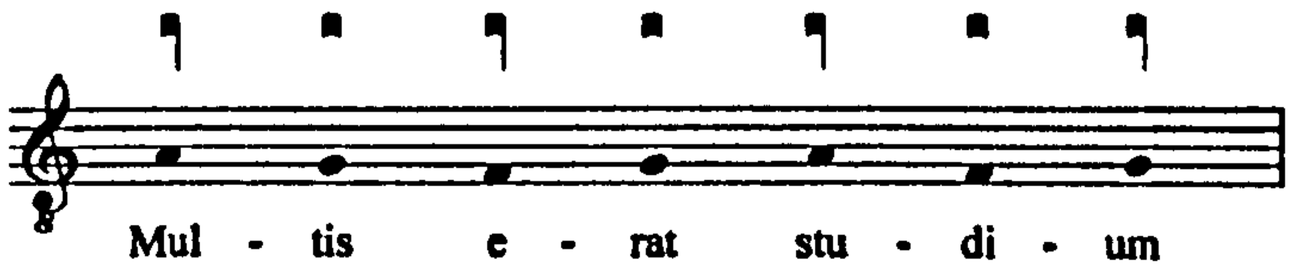
[233] This is also the case with no. 154, which Adam states is based on a rondeau. Described in the rubric as a *cantilena de chorea*, it is modelled upon an unknown dance song with a refrain and attributed to Nobility.
[234] 'Olim in harmonia / multis erat studium / placebat melodia / sonorum concordium' (Once the diligent study of all was in harmony; the concordance of sounds in melody pleased them).
[235] Tambourine, *vielle* and psaltery.
[236] 'Ex his tympanistria / viella psalterium / vocumque concordia / sustinet exsilium' (The playing together of the tambourine, the *vielle*, the psaltery and the voice sustain their exile).
[237] 'Radiabat caritas / puritas cordium / vigebat humilitas / sanctitas mentium' (Love and purity of heart everywhere spread their rays; humility flourished and holiness of mind).
[238] 'Modo dissimilia / cura quærit propria / lucro cedit gaudium. / Hos inflat superbia / malum paris nescium / hos trahit invidia / sui in exitium. / Illos cum jactantia / hypocrisis vitium, / lædit et acedia, / triste boni tædium' (But now quite different cares are pursued by all; all seek their own interests, joy gives place to wealth. Pride puffs up people, evil does not know its equal; envy draws such people to its destruction. The vice of hypocrisy with boasting is upon them; depression kills them, sad is the weariness of the good man).
[239] This idea will be explored in detail in Chapter 6.
[240] Verse pair 2 has the following metrical structure: 7 6 7 6.

repetitive melody which, due to its structure and rhythmic character,[241] is presumed to have been a dance-song. In contrast to the highly melismatic responsory used to venerate St Elizabeth later in this section, the melodic style of Music's offering is predominantly syllabic, with just an occasional three-note figure, usually occurring towards the end of a phrase. The piece consists of short, concise and easily memorable phrases, all characteristics of a dance-song, and employs a mainly conjunct melody in which much of its material is derived from the opening phrase (see ex. 3.22).

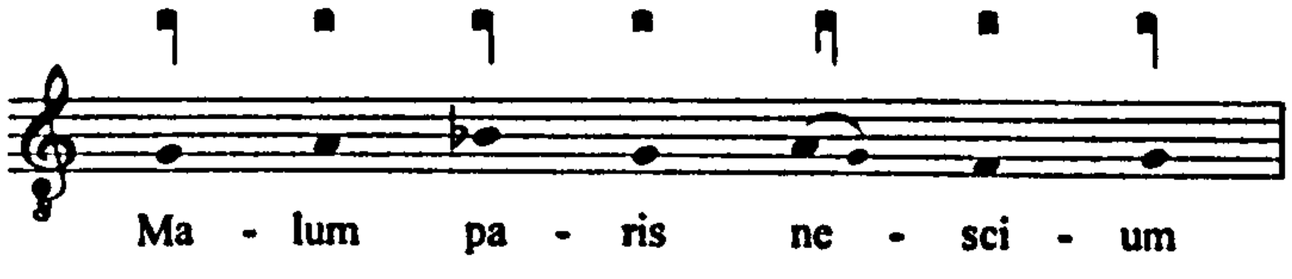


Example 3.22: Opening figure of no. 121

Structured around a paired sequence form, with each except the final phrase being repeated, the first five verses all begin with a simple variation of the opening motif. Cadential figures are similarly shared between verses 1 and 2, and 4, 5 and 6, all of which are developed from the first phrase ending (see ex. 3.23 a and b).



Example 3.23 a: Cadential figure used in verses 1 and 2 of no. 121



Example 3.23 b: Cadential figure used in verses 4, 5 and 6 of no. 121

Verses 1, 2, 4 and 5 are melodically most similar and are set within the range of *f* to *c'*, whilst the third verse is distinguished by a slightly different melodic outline which is partially higher in pitch, extending upwards to *d'*. The final, unrepeated verse lists the

[241] No. 121 is one of the few examples in this manuscript which is clearly written in a rhythmic style, employing the repeated long-breve pattern of mode 1.

various instruments 'in exile' and is accompanied by a more elaborate and increasingly ornamented melody, spanning a wider melodic range (*d* to *d'*) than the other verses.

The theme of Music's offering to the Perfect Man recalls that of her earlier interpolation, no. 37, the first musical item to be inserted into the narrative. It occurs at the point of the narrative when Music constructs the second wheel of Prudence's chariot and is especially conspicuous as it stands alone, preceding Prudence's journey to heaven and Adam's subsequent litany of saints. As the only one of the Arts to communicate through the medium of song, Music is instantly distinguished and ascribed an elevated status. The foregoing narrative text describes the character and function of music in moderately practical terms before, as in no. 121, Music sings a song concerning the falseness of worldly glory and the necessity of redemption. This item is also based upon a secular model, on this occasion a trouvère chanson, *Quant voi paroir la feuille en la ramee.*[242] Echoing Nature's complaint against mankind with which the work opens, Adam's text states that humanity has been seduced by evil ways and led into a state of disorder and sinfulness.[243] After praising the grace of God, the song finishes with the advice to turn away from the 'abyss' of sin and seek redemption whilst time remains.[244] Like Music's second insertion, this item possesses a prophetic character, warning against impending judgement and urging Man to repent. Together, these two songs emphasise the centrality of music to the mechanics of the *Ludus*, its contents and its purpose, and set out the overarching theme of the work, outlining the relationship between music and virtue, and accentuating its role in the journey towards salvation.

No. 129:

After a number of Virtues have stepped forward, each singing a *unica*, Humility is invited to present her offering to the Perfect Man. She does so in the form of a pastourelle, based upon *L'autrier estoie montes sur mon palefroi amblant*,[245] attributed to Henri, duc de Brabant. As with a number of Adam's moralising songs in this second section, there are

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[242] R 550. Although Adam's version of the melody is very similar to that of *Quant voi paroir la feuille en la ramee*, in his rubric he states the song to be based upon *Quant voi la flor paroir sor le rainsel ke li dous tans d estet se reclarcit*, suggesting his *contrafactum* is based upon an imitation or variation, perhaps altered by oral transmission.

[243] 'O quam fallax est mundi gloria / pollicendo seducens hominem. / Hunc cui spondet dare duplicia / in æternum perducens turbinem' (O how false is the world's glory, seducing man with promises, it promises to give him deceits, leading him down to eternal disorder).

[244] 'Heu ingrate dum vivit venia / revertere vita voraginem' (Alas, unthankful man, and while grace yet abides, turn back the abyss in your life).

[245] R 936.

strong connections between the text of this item and scriptural teaching, especially that found in the Gospels. Beginning with the phrase 'Felix qui ...' (Happy is he), Adam evokes the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels and, in particular, the Beatitudes, given as part of the Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus contrasts the earthly kingdom with the promised kingdom of heaven yet to come.[246] Expanding this scriptural theme, the first strophe is concerned with reversal, stating that those who live a lowly life will be exalted whereas those who are elevated will lose their throne,[247] echoing familiar biblical verses such as James 4:10 'Be humbled in the sight of the Lord, and He will exalt you', or Matthew 19:30 'And many that are first, shall be last: and the last shall be first'. Inverting the topos of reversal, the second stanza illustrates God's humbling of Himself in order to become flesh.[248] The latter half of this stanza praises God for taking on the sin of humanity,[249] an act that is subsequently echoed by the Perfect Man in his victory over the Vices. In the final strophe, Humility issues an invective against pride and speaks of its destruction (as will occur in the battle between Virtues and Vices) resulting in liberation for the people of God.[250]

In a further emphasis of the theme of reversal, the distinction between humility and pride opposed in Adam's text is reflected in the original text of the pastourelle which effects a contrast between the lowly shepherdess and the exalted and arrogant knight. Couched in the familiar dialogue between knight and shepherdess, the text follows the progress of their argument before the shepherdess is finally won over by the knight's promises of riches and gifts and succumbs to his advances. The musical setting of this text exhibits in its short phrases, formal balance and alternately open and closed cadences many of the typical features of a pastourelle.[251] Unlike the majority of the other insertions found in this section, this item employs an irregular structure, with the following line-lengths: 7 7 7 7 5 5 7 5 3 3 3 7. This uneven metrical structure is tempered slightly by the use of just two rhymes, arranged thus: ababbababbab. The overall musical form of this pastourelle,

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[246] See Matt. 5:1-12 and Luke 6:20-23.
[247] 'Felix qui humilium / vere vitam sequitur / vita namque talium / gaudens exaltabitur ... teritur, quatitur, / solium perdit qui extollitur' (Happy is he who truly follows the way of life of the lowly; for the life of such as them is joyfully exalted ... he who is elevated is thrashed and shaken and loses his throne).
[248] 'sublimis deitas / corpus sumpsit hominis / et caliginis nubem claritas' (the sublime deity took on human flesh and brightness the cloud of darkness).
[249] 'expers ut originis / nostræ dignitas / fieret criminis' (so that, though having no part in our original sin, he might become our dignity).
[250] 'O pestis superbiæ / tu lues mortigera, / per quam regnum gloriæ / perdit lucifera / turba gratiæ' (O destruction of pride, you release through which the light-bearing crowd of grace destroyed the kingdom of glory).
[251] See Stevens, *Words and Music*, 472-3 for more details.

No. 135:

The central action of this second section, around which everything else is ordered, is the joining together of the earthly body and the divine soul in order to create the Perfect Man. Accomplished by Concord, this ceremony is accompanied by the singing of a motet, no. 135, the only polyphonic item in this second section.[254] In a musical enactment of Concord's action within the narrative, Adam's choice of model brings together an upper voice of secular origin and a liturgical tenor. Found in two parts in the Florence manuscript of Notre Dame polyphony (*Flor*)[255] and in three parts in the Montpellier (*Mo*),[256] Turin (*Tu*)[257] and Bamberg (*Ba*)[258] manuscripts, it is inserted into the *Ludus* without its tenor.[259] However, it is possible to recreate both the original secular upper voice and the music of the tenor through the information specified in the rubric which precedes this item. The tenor is derived from the Pentecost plainchant alleluia *V.* Veni sancte spiritus, reple hiorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris [in eis ignem ascendi][260] and this liturgical reference provides a further allusion to Pentecost, a theme which is of pivotal important to the *Ludus* and its interpretation.[261] Continuing the Pentecost topos of the tenor, Adam's newly-composed text for the upper voice praises the Holy Spirit within a Trinitarian framework,[262] as the 'ambassador between the Godhead and mankind'.[263] This alludes directly to Concord's function in the narrative whilst reinforcing the core subject of the *Ludus*, the union of the body and soul which parallels that of the earthly and the divine in the person of Christ. With its combination of sacred and profane, liturgy and secular song, ancient and modern, and a text extolling the power of God's love, Concord's motet and the symbolic action which it accompanies serves as a microcosmic representation of the *Ludus* and offers a *summa* of its essential themes and overall purpose.

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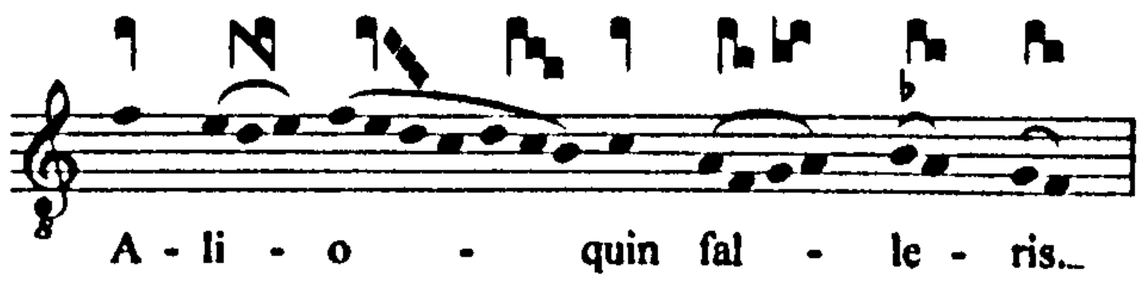
[254] This item and its relevance to the *Ludus* are discussed further in Chapter 4, so a brief mention here will suffice.
[255] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1.
[256] Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196.
[257] Turin, Biblioteca Reale, vari 42.
[258] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (*olim* Ed.IV.6).
[259] For more details on the sources of this motet, see Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition* (New Haven, 1982), i. 95-6; see also i. 480-9, no. 69 for an edition of the motet.
[260] 'Come Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of your faithful ones and kindle the fire of your love in them'.
[261] The relevance of Pentecost to the narrative will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.
[262] 'O quam solemnis legatio / qua tuum Deus Filium / unigenitum / transmisisti Spiritum / spirantem Paraclitum' (O how solemn is the delegation by which, O God, you sent your only-begotten Son who breathes the Holy Spirit).
[263] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 8.

(ii) The Education of the Perfect Man: The *Unica:*

Surrounding Concord's motet are numerous other musical offerings made by the other Virtues, the majority of which are represented by *unica*. As discussed above, these items exhibit a number of shared stylistic features which unite and define them. Yet, through the thematic variety of his texts and his melodic inventiveness, Adam is able to populate this section with a range of different and lively characters that each play a significant role in the moral and spiritual education of the Perfect Man, equipping him for the battle against the Vices over his soul.

No. 111:

The first song to be sung in this second section is voiced by Nature before she invites her sisters to make their offerings and, as such, it sets the tone for that which is to follow. As the central character in this section, an officiating priest-like figure who leads the Virtues in their education of the Perfect Man, Nature begins her instruction with a diatribe against the wickedness of Man.[264] This item marks the transition between the first and second sections, encapsulating much of what has already occurred and foreshadowing that which is to come. As if to signal the new location of this section – Nature's earthly court as opposed to the heavenly court of the first section – this item exhibits a markedly different character from the musical items which precede it. Unlike the majority of insertions employed in either section, this item is written in a through-composed form and a decorated melodic style interspersed with six- or seven-note figures (see ex. 3.26).



Example 3.26: Melismatic writing in no. 111

In addition, its heterometric structure provides a further contrast with the other mainly isometric items in this section. In his text for this item, Adam employs a distinctive poetic technique combining shorter phrases with a rhyme scheme containing additional internal rhymes, which has the effect of adding a sense of urgency to Nature's diatribe:

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[264] See quotation below.

Homo cur extolleris,
Cur luxu te atteris,
Ac ceteris
Peccatis te ingeris,
Qui favilla diceris.
Heu considera
Austera seu aspera
Pondera
Quæ feres ad infera
Trusus misera
Ni cessaveris.[265]

Although sung to the Perfect Man, Adam's text is addressed more generally towards mankind. In a clear echo of her complaint with which the *Ludus* begins,[266] Nature despairs of the sinfulness of humanity, uttering a prophetic warning that, if mankind persists in the way of sin, its final destination will be the 'miseries of hell'.[267] Yet despite the predominantly gloomy nature of this text, Nature offers a glimmer of hope, portraying the 'victories and prizes'[268] that await those who choose to repent. Indeed, it is the Perfect Man who, later in the narrative, will win victory over the Vices, gaining for all humanity the 'sweet prize'[269] of freedom from the grip of sin and the reinstatement of the Golden Age. Nature's text concludes with the urgent advice to 'atone for your faults'[270] whilst time and health remain, before it is too late.[271]

No. 125:

Contrasting with the generalised moralising tone of the previous insertions in this section,[272] Adam's item attributed to Justice warns against corruption and contains advice directed specifically towards the clergy. With an invective against the immorality of the clergy, Justice sings about the injustice of both the civil and ecclesiastical system, whilst singling out ministers of the Church for particular rebuke. Far longer than any of the other items in this section, consisting of eleven strophes in total, it would seem that here Adam gives vent to his personal feelings concerning the subject, offering us a glimpse into the contemporary climate of the Church. Whilst containing a degree of teaching relevant to the

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[265] 'O man, why are you exalted? Why do you waste yourself in luxury and drive yourself to other sins, you who are called ashes? Alas! Consider the grave and heavy burden which you carry, pressed onward towards the miseries of hell, if you do not put an end to it'.
[266] See *Ludus*, 17-18, *13-14*.
[267] 'Heu considera / austera seu aspera / pondera / quæ feres ad infera / trusus misera' (Alas, consider the grave and heavy burden which you carry, pressed onwards towards the miseries of hell).
[268] 'trophæa ... præmia'.
[269] 'dulcia trophæa'.
[270] 'ergo vitia gemes expia'.
[271] 'Ergo vitia / gemes expia / dum loqueris / alioquin falleris' (Therefore with groaning atone for your faults while you have the power of speech; otherwise you will be deceived).
[272] With the exception of no. 115: see above, 144-5, for details.

Perfect Man in his preparation for battle against the Vices, it is clear that Adam's intended audience is his fellow canons, for whom this advice would have been especially pertinent.

Adam's text opens with the assertion that the 'sacred laws' are 'in exile',[273] before tracing injustice back to the time of Christ, when Noe (Christ), the perfect and sinless Son of God, was crucified at the hands of sinful men whilst Barabbas, a known criminal, was released.[274] Blaming the high priests for this action, Adam's text declares that this set a precedent for the corruptibility of subsequent priests.[275] In a foretaste of *Fauvel* with its diatribe against the contemporary Church, the following stanzas enlarge upon the themes of injustice, bribery and corruption, offering examples of bishops who allow the unrepentant to be buried in the cemetery for a price,[276] or who give a murderer absolution in return for a fee.[277] Some of the episodes recounted may in fact be specific references to contemporary situations in which upholders of justice, both civil and ecclesiastical, behaved corruptly, accepting bribes in order to turn a blind eye to a misdemeanour.

Indeed, Bayart states that the tenth strophe, which is written at the bottom of the page and therefore presumed to have been added at a later date, contains an allusion to a situation involving Pope Martin IV and Charles of Anjou: 'public opinion maintained that the collection of tithes ordered by the council of Lyon only served to fill the ever-empty coffers of Charles of Anjou'.[278] Adam joins in with this complaint, stating in this stanza 'it is no less worthwhile to complain about the Supreme Pontiff, who destroys free Sion with public slavery, treacherously harvesting her treasures; these he dispenses to the king'.[279] Although Adam's text suggests that corruption and immorality are rife amongst all clergy, it is the bishops and archbishops who are identified for particular criticism as, it declares, it

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[273] 'Leges sacras passas exsilium'.
[274] 'Noe justus perit per pretium / Barabbasque latro dimittitur' (The just Noe died for a price, and the robber Barabbas was released).
[275] 'quod a summis prælatis oritur / nam cum lumen esse fidelium / teneantur, vendunt judicium. / Fas cum nefas ab his confunditur' (for its source was the high priests, for they maintained that they were the light of the faithful, and so sold judgement; by these actions they confounded right and wrong).
[276] See stanza 2: 'præsul vero assumens pretium / ut humetur mandatum dirigit' (But the bishop, taking a price, decrees that burial should be made).
[277] Stanza 5: 'quo defuncto si potens veniat / et prælatum nummis incutiat / huic parata est absolutio' (after his victim's death, if the powerful man comes and gives the prelate money, then his absolution is given).
[278] The charters of 22nd February and 1st May 1285, copies of which exist in the Municipal Archives at Lyon, report 'serious and huge excess perpetrated at Lyon, in the church of St Stephen against the preachers of the crusade'. See Bayart, *Ludus*, 127.
[279] 'Nec de summo minus Pontifice / est querendum, qui Sion liberam / servituti pessumdat publice, / gazas ejus defalcans perperam. / Quas largitur regi'.

is the malice of the high prelates which rises to the people.[280] Whether Adam had specific targets in mind is not clear but it is certain that this climate of corruption grieved Adam greatly, lamenting as he does in the final stanza the dangers of these actions, leading ultimately to the destruction of the Church, both on earth and in heaven.[281]

No. 131:

Following offerings by Faith (no. 127) and Humility (no. 129), Nature invites Virginity to sing and she does so with a song of praise to the Virgin, 'the flower of chastity'.[282] Like no. 85 – Adam's votive offering to the Virgin – this item combines sacred and secular imagery, drawing on the language of *chansons pieuses* as well as trouvère chansons for inspiration. Continuing the floral imagery employed in no. 85, Adam expands his reference to the 'flower of chastity' and describes Mary as exceeding both the rose and the lily in fragrance and beauty.[283] In a further allusion to the Messianic prophecy contained in Isaiah 11, a common theme in Marian devotion and seen also in no. 85,[284] Adam extends this topos of fertility, portraying Mary as bearing the 'seed of grace'[285] (Christ) and granting the 'fruit of glory' to those who remain chaste.[286] As the perfect model of chastity, it is fitting that Mary should be the recipient of Virginity's song of devotion, which would perhaps have offered a word of encouragement and hope to those canons who were living a celibate life.

In a reflection of the simple beauty of the text, Adam's melody exhibits a light lyricism and balance. Cast once more in AAB form, the A section of this piece consists of a pair of related phrases, the first of which gently ascends in pitch while the second answering phrase descends to return to the opening note of *f'*. The B section opens with the stepwise rising fourth figure, characteristic of a number of the *unica*, which is coupled with a motif used as a cadential figure at the ends of the second and fourth phrases (see ex. 3.27).

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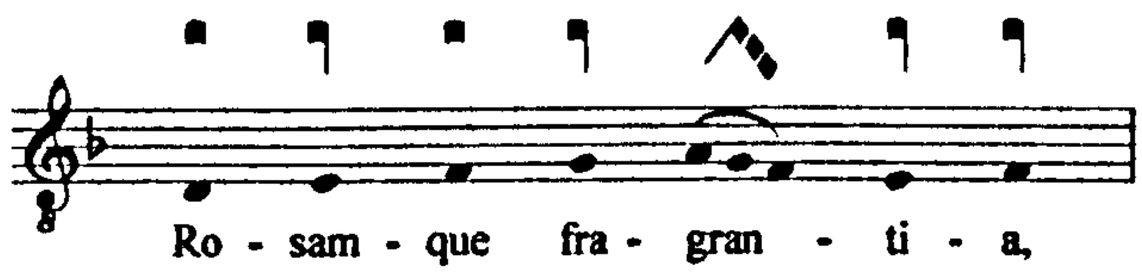
[280] Stanza 11: 'Sic exemplum plebi malitiæ / a prælatis surgit sublimibus'.
[281] Stanza 11: 'qui vel nervos rumpunt Ecclesiæ / contra Deum sumptis muneribus. / Vel terrenis favent principibus, / distrahendo cælesti filiæ' (who either shatter the vigour of the Church by accepting rewards against God or else they favour earthly princes and thereby pull apart the heavenly daughter).
[282] 'floris pudicitiæ'.
[283] 'qui transcendit lilia / candere munditiæ / rosamque fragrantia'.
[284] 'Ave virga Jesse florigera / flos hic inquam immarcessibilis' (Hail, flower-bearing stem of Jesse, the flower, I say, which can never drop).
[285] 'germen gratiæ'.
[286] 'donat fructum gloriæ / his qui innocentiæ / servant privilegia' (Grant the fruit of glory to those who keep the special law of innocence).

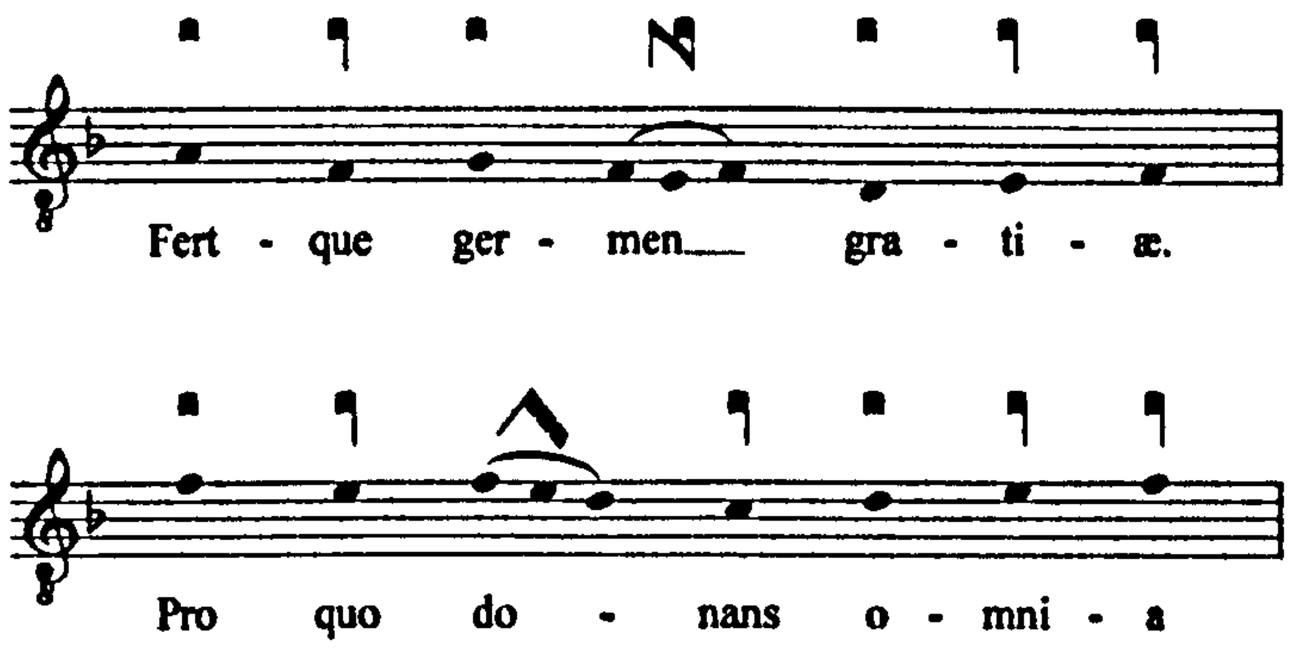


Example 3.27: Opening figure of B section in no. 131

The three-note descending figure used at the cadence points of phrases 2 and 4 becomes a feature of the B section, appearing in a number of transpositions, and it is employed as a brief 'tonal' sequence on the words 'donat fructum' (see ex. 3.28).

Example 3.28: Three-note motif used in 'tonal' sequence in no. 131

There is a degree of overlap in this *unica* between musical and textual structures. Musically, the piece divides into a two-phrase repeated A section and a four-phrase B section. However, the syntactic division of the text occurs between lines 6 and 7 and this textual shift from the worshipful character with which the text begins to a more declamatory style is marked by the leap of an octave (see ex. 3.29) and a brief transition to a higher pitch range (from *d* to *c'* to *b* to *f'*), before the final two phrases return to the lower pitch range employed at the beginning, concluding with the cadential figure used at the ends of lines 2 and 4.



Example 3.29: Octave leap between phrases 6 and 7 of no. 131

This is the third item (of five)[287] in the *Ludus* to venerate Mary and reflects Adam's continued devotion and that of the canons of St Pierre, where the cult of the Virgin was reaching its height.[288]

No. 157:

After Virginity's offering, Adam inserts a series of items based upon liturgical pieces, which will be discussed below, before it is the turn of the hero of the narrative to sing. This final song of the entire work is the only occasion on which the Perfect Man sings, forming the dramatic culmination of the two sections. His education complete, he speaks of his happiness amongst the holy virgins who surround him.[289] In an echo of Nature's song with which this section begins, the Perfect Man's song provides a pithy summary of the overall theme and purpose of the *Ludus*, as well as foreshadowing the remaining action of the narrative. Following the example of both the Virtues in this section and the Saints in the first, he sings that it is love and the living of a life of virtue that act as guides on the journey of the soul towards the 'eternal Lord'.[290] In a reflection of Adam's personal supplications of the first section, the Perfect Man requests the protection of the Virtues and God in his forthcoming battle to defeat the Vices, eradicating all sin.[291] This battle forms the final part of the narrative and serves for the Perfect Man as an allegorical death and resurrection, a physical and spiritual rebirth, resulting in the re-establishment of the Golden Age on earth. Mirroring no. 88, the *Agnus* sung to Christ at the end of the first section, this item brings the second section to a dramatic conclusion. Textually and musically, it can be read as a celebration of all that precedes it, whilst rousing the Virtues for the battle with which the narrative culminates.

(iii) Liturgical *Contrafacta*: Patience, Piety and the Followers of Virtue:

Following Concord's motet, the pattern of *unica* interspersed with the occasional secular *contrafactum*, which constitutes the majority of this section, is interrupted by a brief series of liturgical *contrafacta* as Patience, Piety and the Followers of Virtue each

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[287] The other items are no. 85, no. 106 sung to the Virgin Mary and Christ, no. 141 and no. 143.
[288] The rise of the cult of the Virgin at St Pierre and its impact upon the *Ludus* is discussed in Chapter 1, 26-9.
[289] 'O quam felix qui in consortio / tam sacrarum moratur virginum' (O how fortunate is he who tarries in the company of holy virgins).
[290] 'quarum amor virtus et actio / ad æternum perducunt Dominum' (their love, virtue and action leads them to the eternal Lord).
[291] 'Cæli Deus et custos hominum / cuncta cujus parent imperio / dona mihi harum præsidio / debellare insultus criminum' (God of heaven and guardian of mankind, everything of yours prepares for your rule; grant that under their [the Virtues] protection, I may make war on the insults of sin).

sing insertions modelled upon various different liturgical items. Recalling the first section, these three items serve not only as education for the Perfect Man, but as acts of worship and devotion to St Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary. Adam chooses his liturgical models carefully, in order that they relate both to the Virtue who sings them and the character that they honour, as well as strengthening the themes of the work. Together these items allude once more to the liturgy, evoking a particular ritual act which underscores the narrative and the allegorical significance of this section.

No. 137:

This sequence of liturgical items begins with a responsory attributed to Patience. Reminding the Perfect Man of the example of Job, patient in his suffering, she sings in his honour. Adam's model is derived from the liturgy used on the feast of St Elizabeth of Hungary and is found in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599. A popular saint at St Pierre, she died in 1231 and was canonised in 1236.[292] It is not merely by chance that this offering to St Elizabeth is ascribed to Patience: rather, Adam associates these two figures in order to illustrate a particular virtue for which this saint was renowned. In the *Golden Legend*, St Elizabeth is described on several occasions as being 'steadfast in patience' throughout the many trials she faced and is praised for living a life of obedience in order to 'possess her own soul by patience'.[293] Adam is evidently keen to emphasise this connection via his musical interpolation as, for him, this saint held a two-fold relevance. The legend of her life narrates that she was devoted with great fervour to St Peter, the patron of Adam's church, and would not deny anything to anyone who asked in his name.[294] Furthermore, she was widely venerated as patron saint of suffering souls. Her legend tells that she frequently visited the sick as 'compassion for their suffering ruled her heart'.[295] Her concern for the sick and suffering would have been of particular interest to Adam, himself an ill man and so this item, like the musical insertions of the first section, takes the form of another personal, devotional offering.

Adam's text for this item, whilst providing a degree of moral instruction for the Perfect Man, appears primarily to be a word of encouragement for himself, a means of finding strength to endure and hope for healing. Beginning with an image derived from his

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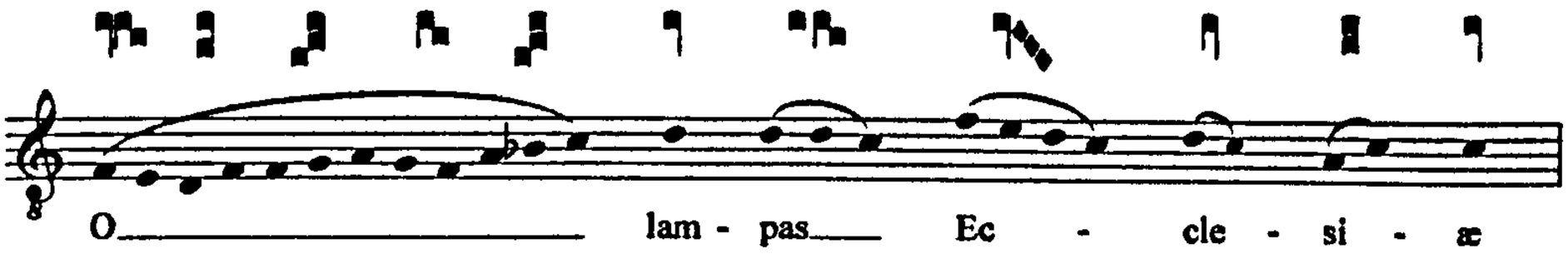
[292] See Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, fol. 79 – the first line of the respond and all of the verse is recorded in this manuscript.
[293] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, ii. 309.
[294] Ibid., ii. 303.
[295] Ibid., ii. 307.

model of St Elizabeth as the 'lamp of the Church',[296] Adam extends this metaphor, praising her for her 'true light'.[297] In a direct reference to her Vita, Adam describes her as the 'vessel ... in which the sick take up their bed of endurance'.[298] The respond text concludes with a series of contrasting images worshipping Elizabeth for bestowing love on the proud, savour to those less savoury and warmth to those who are cold.[299] This imagery is inspired by the original text of Adam's model, in which Elizabeth is similarly honoured for offering nourishment to the faithful, protection for the fearful, for cooling the hot-headed and curing the faint-hearted.[300] The verse continues this theme, proclaiming that her example inspires strength in the weak whilst the hope she offers of heavenly glory comforts those who weep.[301]

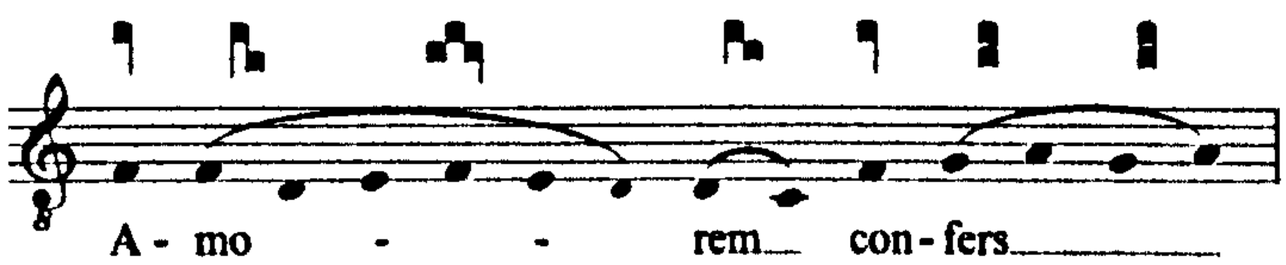
Rather like the musical offering to St Peter in the first section, this item sung to another saint of personal relevance to Adam is distinguished through a number of musical features, including its length, the elaborate nature of its melody and its increased range of over an octave (from *c* to *f'*), all of which serve to reinforce its importance. In contrast to the majority of the other items in this section, this melody is extremely rhapsodic in character, employing extended melismatic figures of up to twelve notes. Structured around the usual form of responsory, verse and repetition of part of the responsory, it is, in essence, a set of variations upon the opening material of the first phrase. Consisting of an extended, gradually rising melisma on the word 'O' coupled with a descending stepwise figure on 'lampas Ec(clesiæ)' (see ex. 3.30), these two motives are developed, abridged or extended and used either alone or in conjunction with each other, creating a fluid and organic melody.



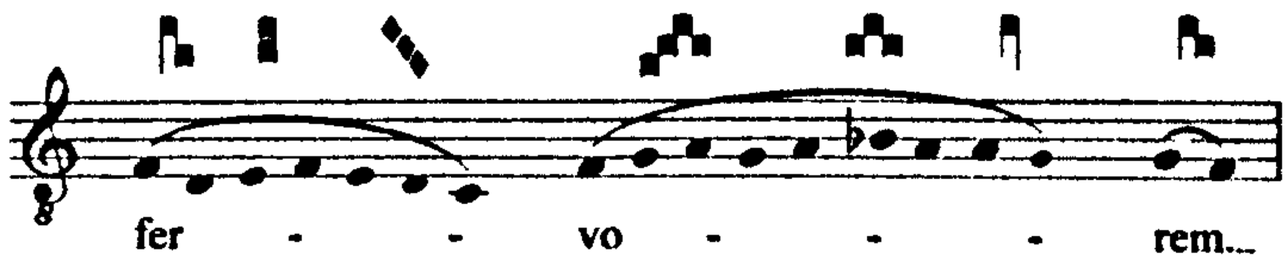
Example 3.30: Opening extended melismatic figure in no. 137

[296] 'lampas Ecclesiæ'.
[297] 'veræ lucis'.
[298] 'vasculum, / in quo patientiæ / sumunt ægri ferculum'.
[299] 'amorem confers tumidis, / saporem minus sapidis, / tepidis fervorem'.
[300] 'nutrimentum fidei / tutelam præsta pavidis, / calorem minus fervidis, / languidis medelam'.
[301] 'Tu confirmans debiles / exemplo constantiæ, / consolaris flebilis / spe cælestis gloriæ'.

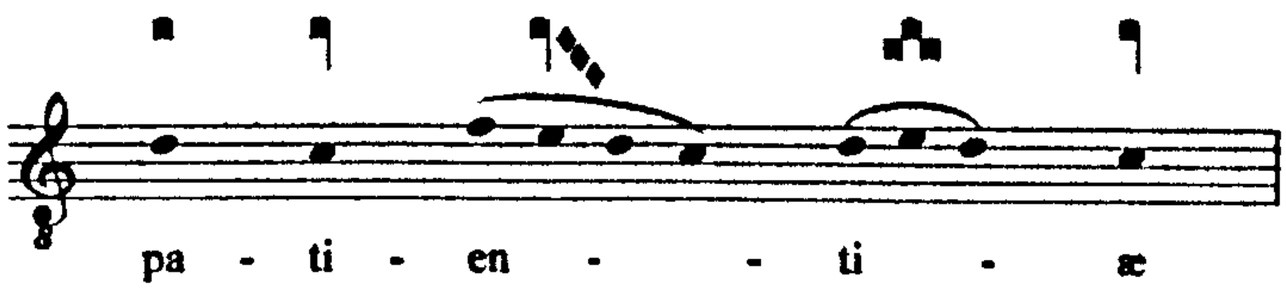
Many of the decorated figures in the respond are derived from this initial 'O' melisma, for instance, the figure accompanying the word 'Amorem' retains the stepwise movement while inverting the shape (see ex. 3.31 a), and this figure is repeated again on 'fer(vorem)' (see ex. 3.31 b). The latter two syllables of 'fervorem' employ a related motif which expands the middle section of the opening 'theme' with its gentle arch-shape (see ex. 3.31 b). The second of the two initial motives is also used to generate material and is repeated exactly on several occasions, on the words '(pati)en(tiæ)', 'Sumunt' and 'te(pidis)' (see ex. 3.31 c) and in a transposed form on '(tumi)dis' and '(confir)mans' in the verse (see ex. 3.31 d), linking the two sections. The verse is far less melismatic, favouring a predominantly syllabic style, before the melismatic rate increases once again in the final phrase, building towards the series of ornamental figures adapted from the opening motive upon the words 'gloriae' and 'Amorem' (ex. 3.31 e).



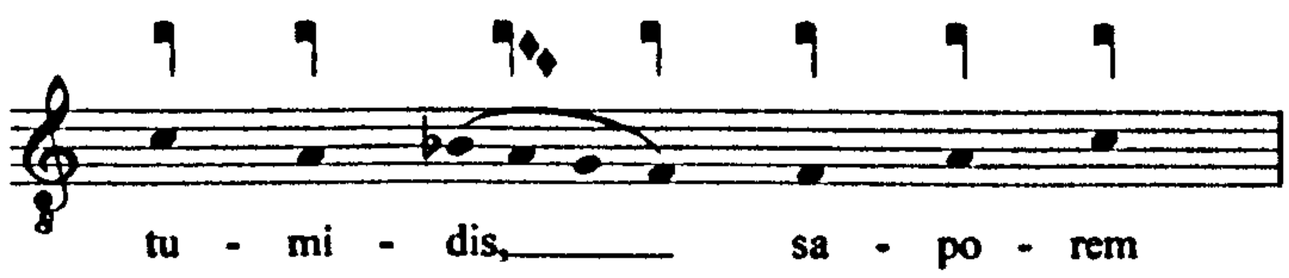
Example 3.31 a: Inversion of opening motif on 'Amorem'



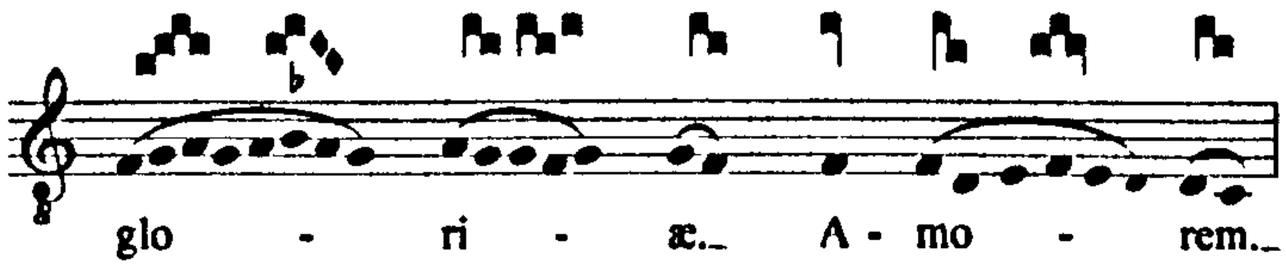
Example 3.31 b: Expansion of mid-section of opening motif on 'fervorem'



Example 3.31 c: Repetition of second opening motif on 'patientiæ'



Example 3.31 d: Transposition of second opening motif on 'tumidis'



Example 3.31 e: Ornamental figures on 'gloriæ', 'Amorem'

This item would have had extremely personal resonances for Adam and the canons at St Pierre and, by basing Patience's offering on this model, Adam was able to evoke St Elizabeth's liturgy and its themes whilst providing an exemplar of a devout Christian soul to be imitated.

No. 143:

After a brief interjection from Sobriety who advises moderation (no. 139), Piety is the next Virtue to be ascribed a liturgical *contrafactum*, an alleluia which she sings to the Virgin Mary (no. 141). Completing this sequence of liturgical *contrafacta* are the Followers of Virtue, who sing a final song to the Virgin Mary, modelled upon the sequence *Zima vetus*. Unlike the two previous liturgical items which, in their original context, would have been led by a soloist, this item would have been sung congregationally and, accordingly, is the only item in the *Ludus* which Adam attributes to a group of characters, revealing his close attention to detail. In a reflection of its liturgical model which consists of a total of thirteen stanzas, Adam's text is divided into seven strophes, many of which comprise a series of common biblical metaphors of Marian chastity and virginal conception. The first group of images are derived from the Old Testament, as Mary is portrayed as 'the throne of Solomon' (thronus Salomonis), the 'fleece of Gideon' (vellus Gedeonis), the 'heavenly ladder' (scala cælica), the 'shoot of Jesse' (Jesse virgule), the 'pool of Siloam' (piscina Siloe), the 'ark of Noah' (arca … Noe) and the 'rainbow of the covenant' (iris fœderis). Adam weaves these images into a litany of devotion and praise, listing the many names of the Virgin and honouring her bountiful gifts of love and holiness. In the fifth stanza she is glorified using imagery employed elsewhere by Adam in his other songs to the Virgin, as the 'morning star' (stella matutina),[302] the 'rose without thorns' (rosa carens spina),[303] 'the chamber in which the divine essence was sheltered' (cella qua divina / latuit essentia),[304] before, in the sixth stanza, Adam continues the

[302] See also no. 106.
[303] See no. 85 and no. 131.
[304] See no. 85.

Messianic theme which runs throughout all of the musical offerings to Mary, portraying the Virgin birth as the fulfilment of prophecy: 'for the King from the Heavens, with Gabriel's salutation, entered the door which Ezekiel's vision indicated was closed'.[305] The final stanza is an extended supplication in which Adam prays to be purified by Mary's prayer, 'tua prece nos emunda', in order that her grace may save him from death, 'ut a morte nos secunda / tua salvet gratia'. With this lengthy item, which occupies almost two complete folios, Adam's series of liturgical items is brought to a close, after which comes Nobility's offering (no. 154), before the Perfect Man sings, heralding the end of this second section.

VI: The Mass: The Court of Earth

Balancing his evocation of the liturgical Offices in the first section, Adam's citing of three liturgical items in this second section strongly recalls the celebration of Mass, with its associated ritual and ceremony. Inserted after Concord's motet, which marks a pivotal point in this second section, the three liturgical items of a responsory, alleluia and sequence represent (if, as Hughes suggests, the responsory is thought of as a gradual-responsory) the 'most important items of Mass music … outlined in the correct order'.[306] Table 3.8, which details the contents of the Mass and the order in which they appear, makes this apparent.[307] Certainly, in terms of its form and style, Adam's responsory exhibits several of the defining characteristics of a gradual. The most elaborate and melismatic of all chants, the gradual came to consist of a choral respond followed by a solo verse,[308] echoed in Adam's offering to St Elizabeth. Given its position directly before the alleluia and sequence, and considered within its narrative context, it seems certain that Adam intended these items to recall the Mass service. Undoubtedly, Adam would have been familiar with many graduals sung at St Pierre[309] and could have selected one with ease, clarifying his thematic intention, and yet it appears that he chose 'O lampas' instead, a responsory rather than a gradual-responsory, due to its additional associations with St Elizabeth which enrich his narrative on another level.

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[305] 'Nam subivit Rex de cælis / cum salute Gabrielis / portam quam Ezechielis / clausum signat visio'.
[306] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 6.
[307] The chant following the first lesson was originally called a responsory, whilst later manuscripts describe it as 'responsorium graduale'. Eventually this title was abbreviated to *graduale*, the name thought to have been derived from the position of the soloist on the step (gradus) of the pulpit.
[308] Up until the thirteenth century, the respond was repeated after the verse.
[309] Many are preserved in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599.

At the heart of this second section, Concord's motet – which marks the joining of divine spirit and earthly body in the person of the Perfect Man – serves a Eucharistic function, representative of the transformation of earthly bread and wine into Christ's body and blood. Through its implied polyphonic setting which unites disparate strands, the motet itself becomes a corporate act, a transformation of the singular textual line into a collective whole in which the act of Communion is recreated. Viewed within this context, the moral offerings made by the Virtues to the Perfect Man assume the role of the gifts presented by the congregation in the Offertory before experiencing the transubstantiation.[310] The Eucharistic function of Concord's motet is intensified when its equivalent in the first section, the *Agnus*, is considered. As noted previously, the insertion of an *Agnus* at the climax of the first section evokes the prayer of consecration uttered whilst the Host and wine are mingled. The related transubstantial imagery of Concord's motet engages in dialogue with the *Agnus*, inviting the Virtues, and Adam's readers, to partake in this symbolic ritual action and receive the eternal life which it promises.[311]

The one flaw to the Eucharistic interpretation of this section lies in the order in which the musical items are inserted. In the Mass service, the three liturgical items used in this section appear in sequence before the Gospel reading, leading up to the celebration of the Eucharist (see Table 3.8). Yet, if Concord's motet is intended to be representative of the act of transubstantiation, then these liturgical items should appear before, rather than after, the motet as they do in the *Ludus*. Given the multiple allusions to the Mass and its ceremony within this section, I do not believe that this slight discrepancy is enough to warrant disregarding this interpretation. Indeed, it is quite possible that, as with many aspects of the *Ludus*, there are more than one symbolic schemes operating at this point. As Hughes points out, perhaps the positioning of Concord's item is a deliberate act on Adam's part, in order that it should be the twelfth offering,[312] combining, as it does, the numbers three and four, signifying respectively the members of the divine Trinity and the earthly elements of fire, wind, water and earth.[313] Whilst not discounting this interpretation, I would suggest that Adam's intention was to evoke an additional element of the liturgy which has an equal resonance with his narrative: in the Eucharistic celebration, the responsory, alleluia and sequence prepare, through their texts and musical settings, for one

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[310] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 6.
[311] 'nos cum Filio visita, / lucis vita, mundum illuminans, / ac seminans vim amoris' (visit us with the Son, the light of life, lighting up the world, and sowing the power of love).
[312] Concord's offering is twelfth if Nature, who invites the Virtues to step forward, is not counted.
[313] Hughes, '*Ludus*', 8.

of the most important elements of the Mass, the hearing of the Gospel, the word of God. In the same way, in the *Ludus*, this series of liturgical *contrafacta*, with their elaborate forms and melodies and detailed, descriptive texts, prepares for the culmination of this section, the only utterance of the Perfect Man.

Regardless of its exact positioning, it is apparent that Concord's motet functions as the central act around which the remainder of this section is ordered, just as the celebration of the Eucharist forms the highpoint of the Mass. Structured around Concord's musical re-enactment of the creation of the Perfect Man – the joining of flesh and spirit, earthly and divine – this second section encapsulates the commemorative nature of the Mass in which Christ is celebrated as God Incarnate, the Word made flesh. Through his numerous allusions to the service of the Mass and its music and ceremony, Adam strengthens the narrative contrast between the two courts which form the settings for the two sections. Unlike the court of heaven, in which the continued singing of the liturgical Offices depicts the constant angelic song of heaven, Nature's court is dominated by an earthly, human re-enactment and commemoration of a divine sacrifice. With Nature functioning as the officiating priest, providing an intermediary between the Virtues and the Perfect Man, the character of this section is ceremonial, a collective act of public celebration centred on Concord's ritual. Through his complex and detailed referencing of these two central components of the liturgical day – the Office hours and the Mass – Adam employs imagery with which his readers would have been extremely familiar in order to depict through symbolic action, text and music, the heavenly and earthly courts of his narrative.

VII: Music in the Two Courts

In a work which explores the importance of the role of music within the universe as a means of uniting, harmonising and controlling, Adam's musical insertions play a vital role in reinforcing this theme. Through their chronological, generic and stylistic diversity, Adam's chosen insertions emphasise the various layers of meaning of his narrative and the action which it depicts. Adam employs a wide variety of musical items in order to represent the various different inhabitants of his narrative as individual and distinct figures. Indeed, much of the characterisation which is so lively, particularly that of Nature and her many sisters, can be attributed to the musical insertions which they are given to sing, signifying on many levels the different facets of their characters. As well as providing his

characters with individual voices within the narrative, the insertions allow Adam to comment upon his own work (especially in the first section), bypassing his characters and addressing his audience directly, guiding and informing their interpretation. These 'lyric pauses', sprinkled liberally through the work, enable Adam and his audience, his co-interpreter, to step back from the immediate action of the narrative and reflect upon its underlying themes.

Adam inserts his carefully-selected items into the two sections of his narrative which, through their different styles and referential schemes, illustrate the essential thematic structure of the *Ludus* and reveal its intended purpose. Located within the heavenly court and populated by the assembly of saints, the first section – a symbolic representation of heaven – resounds with the sounds of the hymns and devotional offerings of the liturgical Offices, evoking the continual worshipful song of the angelic host. In contrast, the second section, which takes place within Nature's earthly court, inhabited by the Virtues, combines moral teaching and instruction with the music, rite and ceremony of the Eucharistic celebration. The structure, style, and musical and textual content of each section is closely bound up with the nature of the narrative, the action portrayed and its intended meaning. Whereas Adam's portrayal of heaven is contemplative in nature, emphasising the personal relationship between mankind and God seen in the narrative as Adam sings praises and supplications to the saints, Adam's recreation of Nature's earthly kingdom focuses upon corporate worship and celebration as the Virtues endow the Perfect Man with wisdom and moral guidance. Reflecting the numerous dualities embodied within the work, the two courts illustrate the *Ludus*' twin functions of devotion and education. With its various moral themes and lessons on living a life of virtue, it operates as a handbook, with guidance for achieving holiness. In addition, for Adam, perhaps on occasion too ill to attend the Divine Service, the *Ludus* functions as a complete act of worship, providing – like a Book of Hours – the material needed for an experience of the divine.

Fittingly, the only character to sing in both sections of the narrative is Music, whose insertions articulate the guiding principles of the *Ludus*. In her second musical item (no. 121), she counsels the Perfect Man that the study of music can awaken love, purity and

a holiness of mind,[314] restating the message at the heart of Adam's work. Music's advice also provides us, the reader, with instruction as to how we are to engage with the insertions. Like the Virtues' musical offerings to the Perfect Man, each insertion contains a particular lesson to be learnt, a lesson which it will surrender to careful and detailed study, 'multis ...studium'. Through their literary and musical 'texts', the insertions draw upon a wealth of references and engage with a number of diverse repertories, communicating on many levels and via a variety of means. Thus, as Music urges, it is vital to study the insertions, uncovering their hidden meanings through a gradual unwrapping of their various layers of signification. For readers both then and now, the musical insertions serve as the gateway to the *Ludus*, a narthex through which one must enter in order to partake of the message of redemption and hope which it offers.

[314] 'Olim in harmonia / multis erat studium / placebat melodia / sonorum concordium. / Radiabat caritas / puritas cordium / vigebat humilitas / sanctitas mentium' (Once the diligent study of all was in harmony; the concordance of sounds in melody pleased them. Love and purity of heart everywhere spread their rays; humility flourished and holiness of mind).

Table 3.1
Musical Items Included in the *Ludus*

Bayart's no.	Folio	Title	Genre of Source Music
37	12v	O quam fallax	Trouvère chanson
67	17r-17v	Ave gemma	Trouvère chanson
67a	17v	Ave quæ de Maxentio	Hymn
69	17v	*Ave præsul sancte*	-
69a	17v	Ave qui partem	Hymn
71	18r	*Ave pugil*	-
71a	18r	Ave par Angelis	Hymn
73	18v	Christum Dei Filium	Processional antiphon *
75	19r	*Ave cujus vera contritio*	-
77	19r-19v	*Ave radix*	-
77a	19v	Ave certum præsagium	Hymn
79	19v-20r	O constantiæ dignitas	Trouvère chanson
81	20r-20v	*Ave pater*	-
81a	20v	Ave qui carens	Hymn
83	21r	Ave princeps cælestis	Trouvère chanson
83a	21r	Ave cum quo angelica	Hymn
85	21v	Ave rosa rubens	Trouvère chanson
88	22v	*Agnus Fili Virginis*	-
106	26r-26v	Ad honorem Filii	Sequence
111	27r-27v	*Homo cur extolleris*	-
113	27v-28r	*O quam felix qui servit*	-
115	28r-28v	*Fœcis avaritiæ*	-
117	28v-29r	*Modestos*	-
119	29r	*Beatus vir*	-
121	29r-29v	Olim in harmonia	Lai-*notula*
123	29v-30r	*Qui opus accelerat*	-
125	30r	*Leges sacras*	-
127	31r	*Amor emptus pretio*	-
129	31r-31v	Felix qui humilium	Pastourelle
131	31v	*O felix custodia*	-
133	32r	*Corrosus affligitur*	-
135	32r-32v	O quam solemnis legatio	Motet
137	32v	O lampas Ecclesiæ	Responsory

Bayart's no.	Folio	Title	Genre of Source Music
139	33r	*Naturæ exigua*	-
141	33r	Alleluya *V.* Ave domina	Alleluia
143	33r-34r	Zima vetus expurgetur	Sequence
154	36r	Nobilitas ornata	Rondeau
157	36r-36v	*O quam felix qui in consortio*	-

Key:

Text in italics = a *unica*.
* The model for this item has not been traced, but Bayart suggests that it resembles a processional antiphon (see Bayart, *Ludus*, 262).

Table 3.2
Summary of the Contents of the *Ludus*

Bayart's no.	Contents	Source Music
1, 2	Prose and verse prologue. Adam describes himself as picking flowers in meadow of Alan of Lille. He states that he is ill and is writing this work for recreation.	
3 – 6	Description of Nature's paradise, her palace and the great hall.	
7 – 12	Description of Nature's appearance, her coat, tunic, shoes, belt, jewels, all embroidered with pictures of animals, birds, fish.	
13, 14	Nature laments the evil state of mankind and calls a council of the Virtues. Description of all the different Virtues.	
15, 16	Nature suggests creating a Perfect Man.	
17, 18	Description of Prudence. She disagrees with Nature's idea as they cannot make a soul.	
19 – 22	Description of Reason's triple mirror. The first mirror shows a quarrel between Flesh and Spirit.	
23, 24	The second mirror shows holy souls in heaven. The third mirror shows the damned. An invective against clerics who live profane lives.	
25, 26	Reason agrees with Nature and suggests that they ask God for a soul. Prudence is dispatched to make this request.	
27 – 30	Prudence is alarmed but Concord urges that she should agree and Prudence then accepts her mission.	
31	Prudence is served by seven young girls who design and build a chariot.	
32	Description of Grammar – she builds the rudder.	
33	Description of Logic – she builds the axle.	
34	Description of Rhetoric – she builds the body of the chariot.	
35	Description of Arithmetic – she builds the first wheel of marble.	
36	Description of Music – she builds the wheel of bronze.	
37	Music sings – *O quam fallax*	Chanson – *Quant voi la flor paroir*
38	Description of Geometry – she builds the wheel of lead.	
39	Description of Astronomy – she builds the wheel of gold.	
40, 41	The chariot is assembled. Reason brings five horses.	
42	The first horse is Sight.	
43	The second horse is Hearing.	
44	The third horse is Smell.	
45	The fourth horse is Taste.	
46	The fifth horse is Touch.	

Bayart's no.	Contents	Source Music
47	Harmony harnesses the horses, Reason takes the reins, Prudence climbs aboard and they begin their journey.	
48 – 57	Description of their journey through the air, reaching the ether, travelling past the moon, stars, sun and various planets.	
58 – 62	They arrive at the heavens and the chariot stops – it cannot go any further. Noys appears and asks them the reason for their journey. Prudence mounts Hearing and continues with Noys.	
63, 64	They continue across the heavens until they reach Paradise.	
65	They see the assembly of saints.	
66	Poem about Virgins	
67	Hymn to St Agnes – *Ave gemma*	Chanson – *Tant ai amors siervie*
67a	Hymn to Sts Catherine, Agatha and all Virgins – *Ave quæ de Maxentio*	Hymn – *Veni Creator Spiritus*
68	Poem about Confessors	
69	Hymn to St Nicholas – *Ave præsul sancte*	
69a	Hymn to Sts Martin, Gregory and all Confessors – *Ave qui partem*	Hymn – *Iste confessor*
70	Poem about Martyrs	
71	Hymn to St Stephen – *Ave pugil*	
71a	Hymn to St Vincent, Laurence and all Martyrs – *Ave par Angelis*	Hymn – *Sanctorum meritis*
72	Poem about Apostles	
73	Poem to St Peter	
73a	Hymn to St Peter – *Christum Dei Filium*	Processional antiphon – *Virga Jesse*
73b	Poem to St Paul and St John	
74	Poem about Mary Magdalene	
75	Hymn to Mary Magdalene – *Ave cujus vera contritio*	
76	Poem about Prophets	
77	Hymn to St David – *Ave radix*	
77a	Hymn to Isaiah, Daniel and all Prophets – *Ave certum præsagium*	Hymn – *A solis ortu cardine*
78	Poem to St John the Baptist	
79	Hymn to St John the Baptist – *O constantiæ dignitas*	Chanson – *Quant voi le glaie meure*

Bayart's no.	Contents	Source Music
80	Poem about Patriarchs	
81	Hymn to Abraham – *Ave pater*	
81a	Hymn to Isaac, Jacob and all Patriarchs – *Ave qui carens*	Hymn – *Æterne Rex altissime*
82	Poem about Angels	
83	Hymn to Gabriel – *Ave princeps cælestis*	Chanson – *Loiaus desirs*
83a	Hymn to Michael, Raphael and all Angels – *Ave cum quo angelica*	Hymn – *Beata nobis gaudia*
84	Poem about the blessed Virgin	
85	Hymn to the Virgin – *Ave rosa rubens*	Chanson – *Tant ai d'amours apris*
86, 87	Prudence hears the voice of the poet from earth	
88	Hymn – *Agnus Fili Virginis* (2-voice conductus)	
90 – 94	Prudence falls into a lethargy in God's brilliance. Faith arrives and heals her. Faith gives Prudence a mirror so she does not have to look directly at God.	
95	Prudence is taken by Noys and Faith into the presence of God.	
96 – 104	Prudence tells God of her mission and God replies to her. God asks Noys to choose a type of soul which God seals and Noys anoints to make it invulnerable. God sends them on their way, telling them not to travel past Saturn, Venus and Mars on their return in case they influence the soul.	
105	Prudence passes the Virgin Mary.	
106	Sequence sung by Prudence and Faith to Virgin and Christ – *Ad honorem Filii*	Sequence – *Letabundus*
107, 108	Prudence returns to Reason and the chariot and they all return to the assembly of Virtues.	
109	Nature creates the body and the soul is put into it.	
110	Nature invites the Virtues to endow the Perfect Man with their gifts.	
111	Nature sings of repentance – *Homo cur extolleris*	
112	Honesty's offering.	
113	Honesty sings of service – *O quam felix qui servit*	
114	Generosity's offering.	
115	Generosity sings against drunkenness – *Fœcis avaritiæ*	
116	Temperance's offering.	
117	Temperance sings of moderation in speech – *Modestos*	
118	Prudence's offering.	

Bayart's no.	Contents	Source Music
119	Prudence sings of the riches of wisdom – *Beatus vir*	
120	Music's offering (speaking for all the seven Liberal Arts).	
121	Music sings a secular dance – *Olim in harmonia*	Lai-*notula* – *De juer et de baler*
122	Reason's offering.	
123	Reason sings of careful workmanship – *Qui opus accelerat*	
124	Justice's offering.	
125	Justice sings of corruption, civil and ecclesiastical justice – *Leges sacras*	
126	Faith's offering.	
127	Faith sings of the virtues of love – *Amor emptus pretio*	
128	Humility's offering.	
129	Humility sings of humility – *Felix qui humilium*	Pastourelle – *Lautrier estoie montes*
130	Virginity's offering.	
131	Virginity sings of chastity – *O felix custodia*	
132	Charity's offering.	
133	Charity sings of jealousy – *Corrosus affligitur*	
134	Concord's offering.	
135	Concord sings of the Holy Ghost – *O quam solemnis legatio*	Motet – *Et quant iou remir*
136	Patience's offering.	
137	Patience sings a responsory to St Elizabeth – *O lampas Ecclesiæ*	Responsory – *O lampas ecclesie de Sancta Elizabeth*
138	Sobriety's offering.	
139	Sobriety sings of moderation – *Naturæ exigua*	
140	Piety's offering.	
141	Piety sings an alleluia to the Virgin Mary – *Alleluya V. Ave domina*	Alleluia
142	Followers of Virtue's offering.	
143	Followers of Virtue sing a sequence to the Virgin Mary – *Zima vetus expurgitur*	Sequence – *Zima vetus*
144 – 152	Nobility does not know what gift to offer the Perfect Man. She goes to see her mother Fortune – description of Fortune and her house.	

Bayart's no.	Contents	Source Music
153	Nobility's offering.	
154	Nobility sings of nobility and refinement – *Nobilitas ornata*	
155, 156	Fortune gives a gift but does not sing. Nature asks the Perfect Man to sing.	
157	The Perfect Man sings of his happiness among the saints – *O quam felix qui in consortio*	
158 – 171	Fame has spread the alarm in hell about the Perfect Man and the Vices gather. Detailed description of the various Vices.	
172	The Perfect Man is equipped for war by the Virtues.	
173 – 179	The combat begins – detailed descriptions of battle formations.	
180	Venus shoots at the Perfect Man but he kills her.	
181 – 185	The carnage of the Vices continues until they retreat.	
186	The world is set free and the Golden Age is reinstated.	
187	The Perfect Man retires to the cloister. The poet explains the allegory of the poem and concludes with a prayer for himself.	

Key:

Green text = *Unica*
Blue text = Liturgical source, known
Purple text = Liturgical source, unknown
Red text = Secular source (trouvère), known
Pink text = Secular source, known
Orange text = Secular source, unknown

Table 3.3
Musical Insertions and their Sources

No.	Title	Rubric	Source
37	O quam fallax	Super cantilenam que incipit *Quant voi la flor paroir sor la rainsel ke li dous tans destet se reclarcist* [by Sauvage de Béthune]	Chanson is R 550 (*C 116*, K 71, L 54, M 9, N 25, O 124, P 12, T 47, V 35, X 54, *(36) fr. 10047 11, (36) fr. 1149 113, (36) fr. 1634 13*)
67	Ave gemma	Sor *Tant ai amors siervie longement* [by Thibaut, roi de Navarre]	Chanson is R 711 (A 152, B 1, *C 229*, F 104, K 47, M 74, *N 13*, O 137, P 47, R 44, *S 230*, V 24, X 36, Z 2, a 8, *e No. 4*, p2 13, (33) 290)
67a	Ave quæ de Maxentio	Sour *Veni Creator*	Hymn is *CAO*, no. 8407; *AH*, ii. no. 132 (*LU* 885)
69	Ave præsul sancte	-	-
69a	Ave qui partem	Soure *Iste confessor*	Hymn is *CAO*, no. 8323; *AH*, ii. no. 101 (*LU* 1178). Solo section – Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fols. 47 and 79
71	Ave pugil	-	-
71a	Ave par Angelis	Sour *Sanctorum meritis*	Hymn is *CAO*, no. 8390; *AH*, ii. no. 97 (*LU* 1157). Solo section – Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fol. 38
73	Christum Dei Filium	Sor *Virga Jesse*	Liturgical source not known
75	Ave cujus vera contritio	-	-
77	Ave radix	-	-
77a	Ave certum præsagium	Sour *A solis ortu cardine*	Hymn is *CAO*, no. 8248; *AH*, ii. 23 (*LU* 400). Solo section – Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fols. 7 and 8
79	O constantiæ dignitas	Super cantilenam que incipit *Quant voi la glaie meure et le rosier espanir* [by Raoul de Soissons]	Chanson is R 2107 (*C(1) 197*, F 101, K(1) 141, N(1) 65, P 85, R(1) 93, *S 231*, U 128, V(1) 118, X(1) 97, a 29, (4) 162, (32) 70, *C(2) 143*, *I 165*, K(2) 345, N(2) 167, R(2) 97, V(2) 54, X(2) 225, j 2, *(45) 166*, X(3) 257)
81	Ave pater	-	-
81a	Ave qui carens	Sour *Æterne Rex altissime*	Hymn is *CAO*, no. 8255; *AH*, ii. no. 47 (*LU* 952)

No.	Title	Rubric	Source
83	Ave princeps cælestis	Sor *Loiaus desirs* [by Martin le Bequin de Cambrai] This rubric is erased, although correct	Chanson is R 1172 (C 126, I 156, O 77, R 95, U 154, V(1) 57, a 101, r6 148, V(2) 155)
83a	Ave cum quo angelica	Sor *Beata nobis gaudia*	Hymn is *CAO*, no. 8273; *AH*, ii. no. 51 (*LU* 876). Solo section – Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fol. 24 (Melody used to accompany this text at Lille is that of the modern *Jesu Redemptor omnium*: *LU* 365).
85	Ave rosa rubens	Sour *Tant ai damours apris et entendu* [by Lambert Ferri d'Arras]	Chanson is R 2054 (*C(1) 231*, O 139, *U 135*, V 113, j 1, *C(2) 108*, *(36) fr. 10047 18, (36) fr. 1149 41, (36) fr. 1634 21*)
88	Agnus Fili Virginis	-	-
106	Ad honorem Filii	Super *Lætabundus*	A version of this sequence is published in the *Utrecht Prosarium*, 17. Solo section – Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fol. 75
111	Homo cur extolleris	-	-
113	O quam felix qui servit	-	-
115	Fæcis avaritiæ	-	-
117	Modestos	-	-
119	Beatus vir	-	-
121	Olim in harmonia	Notula super illam que incipit *De juer et de baler ne quie mais avoir talent*	Chanson is R 767a – no concordances
123	Qui opus accelerat	-	-
125	Leges sacras	-	-
127	Amor emptus pretio	-	-
129	Felix qui humilium	Super pastoralem que incipit *Lautrier estoie montes sur mon palefroi amblant* [by Henri, duc de Brabant]	Pastourelle is R 936 (K 242, N 118, P 90, V 69, X 164, *(4) 165*)
131	O felix custodia	-	
133	Corrosus affligitur	-	-

No.	Title	Rubric	Source
135	O quam solemnis legatio	Motetum de Sancto Spiritu super illud *Et quant iou remir son cors le gai*, cuius tenuram tenet *Amor*	M 364 (*Ba.* no. 39, *Cl.* 768, *Flor.* 411, *Mo.* 5, 86; 7, 281, *Tu.* no. 6)
137	O lampas Ecclesiæ	Responsum de Iob super illud *O lampas ecclesie de Sancta Elizabeth*	First line of Respond and all of Verse – Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fol. 79
139	Naturæ exigua	-	-
141	Alleluya *V.* Ave domina	Alleluya de Beata Virgini super illud *Justum deduxit Dominus*	Liturgical source not known. For verse text, see Lille, Bib. Mun., MS 599, fol. 36
143	Zima vetus expurgetur	Super sequentiam que incipit *Zima vetus*, De resurrectione Domini	An edition of this sequence is published in *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor*, 257
154	Nobilitas ornata	Cantilena de chorea super illam que incipit *Qui grieve ma cointise se iou lai ce me sont amouretes cau cuer ai*	Secular source not known, although rondeau contains vdB 1599 (*I* 36)
157	O quam felix qui in consortio	-	-

Note:

In this table, I list the number of the musical insertion according to Bayart's edition, followed by the title and the rubric as recorded in the manuscript (with abbreviations realised). For the secular items, I give the composer where known, and the source is indicated using the numbers assigned in Hans Spanke, *G. Raynaud's Bibliographie des Altfranzösischen Liedes* [R], Nico H. J. van den Boogaard (ed.), *Rondeaux et Refrains du XIIe Siècle au Début du XIVe* [vdB] or Friedrich Gennrich (ed.), *Bibliographie der ältesten Französischen und Lateinischen Motetten* [M]. This is followed by the manuscripts in which the source appears, along with the folio number. Items in italics denote that only the text is found, without music. For the liturgical items, I cite the chant identification number employed in the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* [*CAO*] and, for the hymns, a reference is given to an edition of their texts in *Analecta Hymnica* [*AH*]. I also supply the page number on which the items appear in the *Liber Usualis* (1950 edition) [*LU*] or another convenient source. A list of the manuscript abbreviations is given on pages xii-xiii. Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599 is a combined Cantatorium, Antiphoner and Hymnal for the Precentor's use and therefore contains only the solo portions of the chants.

Table 3.4
Manuscript Sources of Trouvère Songs in the *Ludus*

MSS	Trouvère songs in the *Ludus* (Bayart's numbering)					
	37	67	79	83	85	129
A		■				
a		■	■	■		
B		■				
C	■	■	■	■	■	
F		■	■			
I				■		
K	■	■	■			■
L	■					
M	■	■				
N	■		■			■
O	■	■		■	■	
P	■	■	■			■
R		■	■	■		
S		■				
T	■					
U			■	■	■	
V	■	■	■	■	■	■
X	■	■	■	■		■
Z		■				

Note:
For a key to the manuscript abbreviations, see pages xii-xiii.

Table 3.5
Liturgical Insertions and their Place within the Calendar

No.	Title	Model	Liturgical Feast(s)	Service at Lille
67a	Ave quæ de Maxentio	Veni Creator Spiritus	Pentecost (7th Sunday after Easter)	Vespers and Terce
69a	Ave qui partem	Iste confessor	Common of a Confessor Saint	Supplementary (Vespers)
71a	Ave par Angelis	Sanctorum meritis	Common of two or more Martyrs	Supplementary (Vespers)
73	Christum Dei Filium	Virga Jesse	Unknown (Feast day of St Peter – June 29th	–
77a	Ave certum præsagium	A solis ortu cardine	Nativity (Dec. 25th) Also Annunciation (March 25th), Visitation (July 2nd)	Vespers and Lauds
81a	Ave qui carens	Æterne Rex altissime	Ascension (Thursday following 5th Sunday after Easter)	Vespers and Lauds
83a	Ave cum quo angelica	Beata nobis gaudia	Pentecost	Vespers
106	Ad honorem Filii	Letabundus	Nativity (Dec. 25th) St Stephen (Dec. 26th), St John the Evangelist (Dec. 27th)	Mass and 2nd Vespers
137	O lampas Ecclesiæ	O lampas ecclesie de Sancta Elizabeth	Feast day of St Elizabeth (Nov. 17th)	Various
141	Alleluya *V.* Ave domina	Justum deduxit Dominus	Unknown	Mass
143	Zima vetus expurgetur	Zima vetus	Octave of Easter	Mass

Table 3.6
Order of Saints in the *Ludus* and the Litany of Saints

In the *Ludus*	In the Litany of Saints (taken from Orléans, Bib. Mun., MS 123)
Virgins	God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit
Confessors	Virgin Mary
Martyrs	Angels
Apostles	John the Baptist
Sts Peter, Paul and John	Patriarchs
Mary Magdalene	Prophets
Prophets	Sts Peter, Paul etc.
John the Baptist	Apostles and Evangelists
Patriarchs	Martyrs
Angels	Confessors
Virgin Mary	Monks and Hermits
Christ	Virgins

Table 3.7
Adam's Supplications

Number	Supplication	Theme
67	Pray God, who adorns you with glory by the ring which you are promised, that He would change our lamenting into joy and our present imprisonment into heavenly freedom	Prayer (in the plural) for joy and freedom
67a	…beseech the Lord for me whom humans' unwitting actions have drowned	General request for intercession
69	Pray God that He would grant that I should be consumed and weep for my life's failings, so that at last I should behold the Ones on high and be able to be their companion	Personal and specific request for conviction of sin leading to repentance
69a	… pray God to see fit to grant us the ascent of the chosen	General prayer (in the plural) for ascent to heaven
71	… pray God whose mercy knows no bound, to unite with those in heaven me who through my wretchedness am cut off from them	Personal request that he should be united with those in heaven despite his wretchedness
71a	… beseech God that He would grant me of His kindness to be a sharer in your peace	General request for peace
73	O Peter, light of the nations, gatekeeper of the heavens, make the King of Angels look favourably on me	Request for divine favour
75	Pray Christ, for whom I long, that my confession of an impure life may lead me to eternal joy	Personal request that his confession would lead to salvation and eternal life
77	Pray Him that He would call me from the rocky path to be a companion with you at the heavenly banquet	Personal and specific request that he would be freed from his current situation
77a	Beseech for me the King of Ages with insistent voices	General prayer for intercession
79	Grant those who are not overcome by wildness but whom fiery love brings back from the battlefront, the trophy of victory worthy of heavenly rest	Prayer for mercy for others
81	… pray God, who is favourable to the prayers of those who are His own, that after this time of weariness He would deign to call me to your breast, granting me there some small place	Personal and specific request for freedom from his present suffering

Number	Supplication	Theme
81a	… pray for me earnestly to God the Ruler of the Ages	General prayer for intercession
83	Beseech Him, …that after this present exile I would enjoy the company of him who lies upon a dung heap and scrapes the sores of his limbs with a potsherd, blessing the Ruler on high	Personal prayer for an end to current suffering
83a	O you angelic powers, by the Lord's command guardians of the heavenly state, make me worthy to serve	General prayer for worthiness
85	… bid your Son, as you are able, mother, that in the evening of my life he would be to me merciful, compassionate and appeased	Personal prayer for mercy and compassion at specific time of his life
88	… have mercy on us …. have mercy on us …. grant us peace	Three-fold request for mercy and peace

Key:

Blue text = Items with a liturgical model
Red text = Items with a secular model
Green text = *Unica*

Table 3.8
Contents of Mass Service

Fore-Mass	Sacrifice-Mass
Entrance ceremonies:	**Offertory rites:**
INTROIT	OFFERTORY
KYRIE	Prayers and Psalm 25
GLORIA	(Little canon)
Collect	Secret
Service of readings:	**Eucharistic prayers:**
Epistle	*Preface*
GRADUAL	SANCTUS
ALLELUIA	Canon
or TRACT	
SEQUENCE	**Communion cycle:**
Gospel	*Pater noster*
Sermon (optional)	AGNUS DEI
CREDO	COMMUNION
	Prayers
	Postcommunion
	ITE, MISSA EST
	or BENEDICAMUS

Key:

Capital letters = items sung to free melodies
Italics = items sung to recitation tones
Text in red = items included in *Ludus*

Chapter Four
The Interpretation of Love: Sacred and Profane in the *Ludus*

One of the most intriguing elements of Adam's *Ludus* is the appearance, in the midst of its predominantly sacred allegorical narrative, of a number of secular *contrafacta*, drawn from a variety of profane sources. At first glance, it is difficult to discern how these secular items relate to a work so entrenched in liturgical references, structures and evocations, and the seemingly incongruous nature of their subject matter raises the issue of how they should be understood within this context. Adam's combining of such diverse insertions, derived from two contrasting repertories, challenges our modern notions of the sacred and the profane and their relationship with one another. The preceding chapter has demonstrated that each of Adam's insertions was selected with a particular purpose in mind, and has a specific function to fulfil in amplifying the central themes of the work. Yet the presence of these secular items poses various questions regarding why Adam chose to embellish his work with profane as well as sacred musical items and how he reconciles their topoi and content with his fundamentally Christian allegorical narrative. In order to provide a context for interpreting the secular *contrafacta* within the *Ludus*, this chapter aims to examine other works and repertories in which the sacred and the profane co-exist and engage with each other, focussing especially upon those works which utilise the multi-faceted language of love.

I: Sacred and Profane Discourse in the Motet Repertory

For the medieval reader, the dichotomy of the sacred and the profane as we perceive it now was not as distinct, and this is illustrated clearly within the motet repertory. Indeed, one of the central features of vernacular motet composition is the juxtaposition of sacred and profane discourse,[1] often leading to allegorical and parodic readings in which voices derived from different repertories engage in dialogue with one another. The two repertories of Latin and vernacular motets are closely linked, especially through the practice of *contrafactum*, and numerous examples exist of French and Latin motet texts that were composed upon the same melodies.[2] This resulted in secular words being set to melodies that had previously accompanied sacred texts and vice versa, increasing the

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[1] For a detailed examination of the relationship between sacred and secular in the thirteenth-century motet, see Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, 1997).
[2] Ibid., 2.

associated layers of resonance and potential meaning. In addition to combining repertories, many vernacular motets employ texts derived from various lyric registers, providing different (often contrasting) interpretations of a particular theme which is explored from several viewpoints. An example of this occurs in the motet *Plus bele que flors / Quant revient fuelle et flor / L'autrier joer m'en alai / FLOS FILIUS EIUS.*[3] The tenor upon which this motet is based is taken from a responsory for the feast of the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin[4] which cites the Messianic prophecy found in Isaiah 11:1-2.[5] The quadruplum takes the form of a song of devotion to the Virgin Mary akin to a *chanson pieuse*, the triplum is a declaration of love for an earthly lady in the style of a courtly love lyric, whilst the motetus, which employs the language of the pastourelle, describes an encounter with an amorous lady in a garden. Despite their various differences of register, these voices are all related to the tenor through the use of the word *flor*.[6] In the tenor and the quadruplum, the flower is invested with spiritual significance, referring respectively to Christ and the Virgin Mary.[7] In the triplum and the motetus the *flos* is a literal flower, although in the triplum it also figures as a sign of love,[8] whilst the image used in the motetus of a man entering a garden to pick a flower has erotic overtones.[9] However, there is nothing in the triplum that would prevent it from being read as a spiritual allegory and, similarly, the image of the enclosed garden occurring in the motetus mirrors the *hortus conclusus* of the Song of Songs.[10] The author or redactor of this motet exploits the ambiguities inherent in his texts to offer an examination of various different facets of love and devotion, both spiritual and earthly.[11]

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[3] Hans Tischler (ed.), *Motets of the Montpellier Codex*, trans. Susan Stakel and Joel C. Relihan, 3 vols. (Madison, 1978-85), i. 39-40, no. 21. For detailed textual analyses of motets based upon the *FLOS FILIUS EIUS* tenor, see Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 90-99.

[4] 'Stirps Jesse produxit virgam: virgaque florem. Et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. *V.* Virgo dei genetrix virga est, flos filius eius' (The stalk of Jesse produced a branch: and the branch, a flower. And upon this flower the bountiful spirit came to rest. *V.* The Virgin mother of God is the branch, the flower is her son), *CAO*, no. 7709, translation by Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 90.

[5] 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness'.

[6] See Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 93 for more details.

[7] The flower of the tenor – 'the flower is her son' – refers to Christ, whilst in the quadruplum, the 'Mere est au Signour' (Mother of the Lord) is described as 'Plus bele que flor' (More beautiful than a flower); trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 92.

[8] 'Quant revient et fuelle et flor / contre la seison d'esté, / Deus, adonc me sovient d'amors' (When leaf and flower return for the summer season, God, then I remember love), trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 93.

[9] 'En un vergier m'en entrai / por quellir flor' (I entered an orchard, in order to pick a flower), trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 92.

[10] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 94.

[11] This practice of combining lyric registers is also evident in the *Ludus*, with musical insertions representing the liturgy, the courtly chanson and the more rustic pastourelle, and it will be discussed further below.

The composers and redactors of thirteenth-century motets exhibit great ingenuity in the numerous ways in which they combine various repertories and registers in their work, creating dialogical relationships. Often the tenor, with its strong liturgical associations, is employed as the basis for the discourse between the parts, with the upper voices expanding on its liturgical or biblical origin, perhaps with reference to a particular festival, service or doctrinal issue. On other occasions, the upper voices engage in complex patterns of 'intertextual play' upon a word or phrase used in the tenor,[12] exploring different aspects of its meaning. Sacred models may also be transformed using the language of the vernacular lyric in order to create an allegorical or parodic reading. This is frequently achieved, as Huot explains, 'through a narrative recasting of the sacred event or a translation of its central themes into a different set of terms'.[13] This concept of transposing and translating themes and images from one context to another provides a useful model for interpreting the musical insertions of the *Ludus* and will be explored in detail below.

Many thirteenth-century motets, like the *Ludus*, are located within two external contexts, the theological and scriptural, and the 'human' and vernacular, and this is emphasised by the linguistic duality of Latin and French.[14] From these two contexts a number of points of comparison and contrast emerge, with the sacred and profane texts engaging in a dialogue of intertextuality, commenting upon and challenging each other. However, an interpretation of this complex discourse relies on the reader or listener's recognition of the relationship between the themes contained in the texts, as well as the recollection of the wider context from which the original model is derived. The question remains as to whether a contemporary audience would have been aware of these extra-textual references and could have been relied upon to make the necessary connections between the surface texts and their extra-musical resonances. With regard to the motet corpus, Huot concludes that clerics would have been able to identify the origins of tenors used in motets and recognise and recall the sources of *contrafacta*. Furthermore, as many tenor melodies derive from major feasts such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, they would have been recognisable to anyone with a basic acquaintance with the liturgy.[15] As motets were considered a 'learned genre' and served primarily as entertainment for the

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[12] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 4.
[13] Ibid.
[14] The narrative and lyric portions of the *Ludus* are both composed in Latin but the texts associated with the models that Adam employs exhibit this duality, with the liturgical items being in Latin whilst the trouvère chansons and dance songs use the vernacular.
[15] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 20.

intellectual,[16] audiences would have been alive to the allegorical representation of sacred themes through vernacular images. It seems likely that Adam, writing within a clerical community, intended his work to be interpreted in a similar fashion. This interface between the sacred and the profane exhibited in thirteenth-century motets offers various indications as to the way in which the trouvère songs and liturgical chants in the *Ludus* relate to one another and serves to illuminate our understanding of how they are to be understood within the context of the enclosing narrative.

The lyrics of the troubadours and trouvères are replete with many recurring themes which were subsequently allegorised in motets and invested with a spiritual or devotional meaning that would have been familiar to a contemporary audience. A number of these images occur in Adam's musical insertions based on trouvère chansons, enabling him to use profane *contrafacta* to reinforce a theological or spiritual concept. Whilst on the surface the quoted trouvère chansons may seem to bear no relation to the newly-composed texts with which they are endowed, an examination of some of the stock images and their spiritual counterparts reveals that Adam selected his models carefully to emphasise, through various different means, the Christian message which lies at the heart of his work. One such allegorised image is the topos of birds or birdsong which appears in much troubadour and trouvère poetry and is often invested with erotic connotations, the image of the lark rising being a familiar example.[17] Similarly, in the *alba*, it is frequently the singing of birds at dawn that reminds the lovers that their night together is over. This imagery has also been attributed religious significance; the nightingale, which was believed to 'sing ecstatically as it dies, consumed by love', was variously allegorised as a figure for Christ or for the soul overwhelmed with love for Christ and sadness at his Passion.[18]

Birds are also commonly employed throughout troubadour and trouvère poetry as a signifier for springtime which, in turn, is suggestive of love. Within a spiritual context, the image of new life associated with either daybreak or Spring can serve as an allegory for the period of Easter, just as the progression of the seasons, with its unending cycle of death

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[16] Ibid., 9.

[17] For an example, see Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover:* 'Can vei la lauzeta mover / De joi sas alas contra.l rai / Que s'oblid'e.s laissa chaser / Per la doussor c'al cor li vai' (When I see the lark beating his wings for joy against the sun's ray until he forgets to fly and lets himself fall for the sweetness which goes to his heart), edited with translation in Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten and Gérard Le Vot (eds.), *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York, 1998), 68-9.

[18] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 59.

and re-growth, finds its sacred counterpart in Christ's death and resurrection. In the *Ludus*, examples of several of these familiar topoi appear in the first musical item to be inserted into the narrative, no. 37, sung by Music. The trouvère chanson upon which Adam bases his song, *Quant voi la flor paroir*,[19] echoes the opening of the *Ludus*' narrative with its description of the beauty of the natural world and the song of the birds.[20] The chanson contains multiple references to springtime, such as the blooming of flowers, foliage, greenery, and birdsong:

Quant voi paroir la fueille en la ramée,
Que li douz tens d'esté est resclarcis,
Que cil oisel et soir et matinée
Chantent si cler par ces vergiers floris,
Trop volentiers pensasse a leur douz criz.

(When I see the foliage beyond the greenwood,
That the sweet new season is shining,
That the birds in the evening and morning
Sing brightly in the flowering trees,
Gladly I think of their sweet cries.)

These evocations of the 'sweet new season' suggest a time of new life and rebirth and, more specifically, the festival of Easter with its identification with Christ's Passion, an event re-enacted within the *Ludus*' narrative through the creation of the Perfect Man and his triumph over the forces of evil. The protagonist laments that he suffers a harsh love which does not give him rest:

Mes je sui si d'autre chose esbahiz.
Car une amors durement me travaille;
Si n'ai repos nuit et jor ne m'assaille.

(But I am troubled by something else,
So harsh a love that I suffer
I do not have rest night or day.)

Yet the chanson ends in a more positive tone as he maintains hope in his lady showing mercy and granting him the love that he so desires:

Mes un espoir m'est dedenz le cuer mis,
Que ja d'amours

(But one hope is in my heart,
That of Love ....)

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[19] R 550.
[20] Bayart, *Ludus*, 6-11, *3-6*.

As will be explored in greater detail below, these twin themes of love and mercy – which are intrinsically linked in many love lyrics – serve, within the *Ludus*' interpretative framework, as an echo of God's redeeming mercy as demonstrated through its allegory. By utilising the duality of these topoi and their inherent ambiguity, Adam is able to reconcile the sentiments of his chosen trouvère chanson with the subject matter of his narrative, in a manner which his audience would have recognised and understood.

II: The Virgin Bride

In addition to this catalogue of common themes and images which enables authors to juxtapose or combine the sacred and the profane within their works, the motet corpus contains numerous allusions to certain biblical figures. These references are adjoined with texts which allegorise or parody these characters and aspects of their lives or which contrast them with figures from the vernacular repertory. Several of these sacred characters appear in the *Ludus*' narrative amongst the assembled company of saints and, as discussed in the previous chapter, are venerated with items based upon models derived from the secular repertory as opposed to the liturgy.[21] An examination of this practice within the corpus of motets and vernacular lyrics facilitates a clearer understanding of Adam's compilatory method and makes it possible to decipher the various layers of meaning operating within his work. The figure to be allegorised most frequently in the vernacular repertory is the Virgin Mary. There are plentiful examples of motets which combine declarations of erotic love with a devotional text in praise of the Virgin and this is made possible because of the overlap between the language of the courtly love lyric and Marian adoration.[22] Indeed, sometimes this intersection is so great that it is extremely difficult to distinguish between an erotic love poem and a celebration of the Virgin. This ambiguity is exploited by many composers and can be seen to exert an influence upon a number of the musical insertions contained within the *Ludus*.

Mary plays a significant role in the *Ludus*: in the narrative she is closely associated with Christ, the central figure, she is the recipient of more devotional songs than Christ, and she is supplicated by Prudence on behalf of the distressed.[23] As examined in Chapter

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[21] These are the items sung to St Agnes (no. 67), John the Baptist (no. 79), Gabriel (no. 83), and the Virgin Mary (no. 85).
[22] A prime example is the motet on *FLOS FILIUS EIUS*, which was discussed above.
[23] The following songs are addressed to the Virgin Mary: nos. 85, 106, 131, 141 and 143.

1,[24] her exalted status in the *Ludus* reflects the esteem in which she was held at St Pierre at the time of the *Ludus*' writing and many of the insertions used in her veneration indicate that she was of great personal significance to Adam. The liturgy of the Virgin, used on the occasions of her Nativity, Annunciation, Purification and Assumption, abounds in allegorical imagery derived from the Song of Songs, Psalm 44 (45) and the hymn to Holy Wisdom in Ecclesiastes 24.[25] Characterised by a 'sublimated eroticism', these liturgical texts are replete with allegorical references to 'flowering gardens, bubbling fountains, and aromatic spices',[26] deriving inspiration from the sensuous language of the Song of Songs:

> Fons horotum, puteus aquarum viventium quae fluunt impetu de Libano.
>
> (Fountain of the gardens, well of living waters which flows swiftly from Lebanon).[27]
>
> Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedisti, sancta Dei Genetrix.
>
> (You gave off an odour, fragrant as cinnamon and balsam, holy Mother of God).[28]

The overriding metaphor expressed throughout her liturgy is that of the Holy Virgin as the Bride of Christ, which sanctifies its use of 'nuptial imagery'.[29] As *Sponsa* to Christ's *Sponsus*, Mary is associated with the Church and with every individual member, all of whom are said to be Christ's bride.[30] This union between Christ and Mary, this mystical marriage, was often described using erotic language and imagery similar to that found in the secular repertory, allowing elements of the two to be fused. This is illustrated by the following *versus*, which invokes the images of the bride, bridegroom and kiss of the Song of Songs:

> Quam felix cubiculum
> In quo fiunt nupcie
> In quo dedit osculum
> Sponse sponsus hodie.
>
> (How auspicious is the bedroom in which the marriage is made, in which the bridegroom gave a kiss to the bride today).[31]

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[24] See pages 26-9.
[25] For more information, see Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 87.
[26] Ibid., 86.
[27] *CAO*, no. 2887, antiphon for the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin; see Song of Songs 4:15.
[28] *CAO*, no. 4929, antiphon for the Assumption; see Ecclesiastes 24:20. Both translations are by Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 86.
[29] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 87.
[30] See Revelation 21: 2.
[31] London, British Library, Add. MS 36811, fol. 21r; translation by Rachel Golden Carlson, in 'Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Song in Aquitanian "Versus"', *Music and Letters*, 84 (Nov. 2003), 527-55, at 532.

Other themes found at the heart of the Marian liturgy are Mary's unblemished virginity, her 'powers of intercession on behalf of her devotees, and her role in the Incarnation and resulting redemption of humanity',[32] all of which were subsequently allegorised by authors of motets and vernacular lyrics.

Various motifs, including the ardent lovers' reunion, prayers for mercy (most commonly addressed to an idealised Lady), and a belief in the edifying, redemptive qualities of love,[33] are common to both devotional lyrics addressed to Mary and love lyrics for an earthly *dame* and these serve as points of allegory which authors could employ in order to draw the analogy between different types of love. By utilising the ambiguity inherent in this imagery, authors could either juxtapose texts describing sacred and profane love, or construct a lyric which proffers a variety of readings and interpretations. The figure of the Virgin, allegorised as a beautiful and merciful lady, worshipped from afar, is frequently posited in opposition to the figure of Eve, the temptress or the lusty woman who boasts of her adultery. Through the employment of this imagery, motet redactors fused sacred and profane discourses of love, contrasting a pure and virtuous love with one that is erotic and lustful. Also contrasted are the effects of these two forms of love, on the one hand, the ennobling, redemptive qualities of a chaste and righteous love, and on the other, the pain, suffering and destruction caused by erotic desire. An example of this stark opposition is apparent in the refrain of Gautier de Coinci's *Entendez tuit ensemble*,[34] in which the Virgin is portrayed as the antidote to Eve, the solution to Original Sin brought into the world by Eve's seduction of Adam:

> Eve a mort nous livra
> Et Eve aporta ve,
> Mais tous nous delivra
> Et mist a port Ave.
>
> (Eve delivered us to death,
> And Eve brought malediction:
> But Ave released us all
> And brought us safely to the haven.)[35]

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[32] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 88.
[33] Ibid., 89.
[34] This refrain song appears immediately after Gautier de Coinci's Marian Psalter, and is a mnemonic lyric designed both to summarise, and to aid in remembering, the Marian Psalter. The refrain itself is a reiteration of the play on *Ave* and *Eva* which appears in the prologue to the Psalter. For a detailed account of this song and its relationship to the Psalter, see Kathryn A. Duys, in *Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the Miracles de Nostre Dame of Gautier de Coinci* (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1997), 93-9.
[35] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V. Frederick Koenig, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1955-70), II Ch 32/15; translation by Duys, in *Books Shaped by Song*, 96.

The corpus of Robin and Marion motets provides numerous examples of the juxtaposition of the Virgin Mary with an earthly lady and demonstrates a variety of ways in which these motifs were employed.[36] In the Montpellier manuscript,[37] the motet *Quant voi revenir / Virgo virginum / HEC DIES* combines a song of the 'vernal reawakening of love for Marion' with praise for the eternal beauty of the Virgin Mary.[38]

Triplum
Quant voi revenir
D'esté la saison,
Que le bois font retentir
Tuit cil jolis oisillon,
A donc pleur et souspir
Pour le grant desir,
Qu'ai de la bele Marion,
Qui mon cuer a en prison.

Motetus
Virgo virginum,
Lumen luminum,
Restauratrix hominum,
Que portasti Dominum,
Per te, Maria,
Detur venia.
Angelo nunciante
Virgo es post et ante.

Tenor: HEC DIES

Tr: When I once again summer days do see, when the woods echo amain to the sound of birdsong free, ah then do I complain of my heart's great pain, for love of fair Marion, she ever holds my heart in fee.

Mo: Maid of maids most bright, light above all light, remedy of every wight, who to bear God did delight, Maria, through thee, grace and pardon be. In thee whom the angels did greet, Virgin, past and future meet.[39]

Tenor: THIS DAY.

The triplum contains a number of naturalistic images, mentioning summer and birdsong, both of which are signallers of love, either sacred or profane. The reference to the 'woods' echoing with birdsong forms a secular counterpart to the image of the enclosed garden that is frequently employed to describe the Virgin Mary. The tenor is taken from the Easter gradual *Hec dies. Confitemini Domino*: 'Hec dies quam fecit Dominus: exsultemus et laetemur in ea. *V.* Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus quoniam in seculum misericordia eius'.[40] This liturgical reference adds a further interpretative dimension to the motet, bringing the events described in the two upper voices into conjunction with *this day*, Easter Sunday. In this context, perhaps the 'woods' can be viewed as paralleling the Easter garden where the resurrected Christ first walked, whilst the birth of Christ portrayed in the

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[36] For a discussion of these motets, see Wyndham Thomas, 'The Robin-and-Marion Story: Interactions of Pastourelle, Motet and Chanson in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Music Review*, 51 (Nov. 1990), 241-61.
[37] *Mo.*, fols. 80v-82r.
[38] Thomas, 'Robin-and-Marion Story', 245; for an edition of this motet, see Wyndham Thomas (ed.), *Robin and Marion Motets* (Newton Abbot, 1986), ii. 5.
[39] Verse translation by Tim and Anne Hemming, in Thomas (ed.), *Robin and Marion Motets*, ii. 26-7.
[40] 'This is the day that the Lord made: let us exult and rejoice in it. *V.* Praise the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endures for ever', see *LU*, 778-9; trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 158.

motetus finds its culmination in his redeeming resurrection. The redactor of this motet juxtaposes the protagonist's pain and misery caused by his love of Marion, which does not appear to be reciprocated, with the joy of praising the Virgin Mary and thus depicts a fundamental contrast between the profane, unrequited love of Marion with the sacred love and devotion for Mary, through whom humanity can receive eternal grace and forgiveness.

A similar example of the parallelism between religious and pastourelle subjects can be seen in the Montpellier/Bamberg motet *Au doz mois / Crux forma / SUSTINERE*:[41]

Triplum
Au doz mois de mai
En un vergier flori m'en entrai,
Trovei pastorele desoz un glai;
Ses agneaus gardoit
Et si se dementoit,
Si com je voz dirai:
'Robin, doz amis, perdu voz ai;
A grant dolor de vos me departirai!'
Lés li m'assis, si l'acolai;
Esbahie la trovai
Pour l'amour Robin,
Qui de li s'est partis:
S'en estoit en grant esmai.

Motetus
Crux, forma penitentie, gratie
Clavis, clava peccati, venie
Vena, radix ligni iusticie,
Via vite, vexillum glorie,
Sponsi lectus in meridie,
Lux plenarie
Nubem luens tristicie,
Serenum conscientie:
Hanc homo portet,
Hanc se confortet,
Crucem oportet,
Si vis lucis vere
Gaudia sustinere.

Tenor: SUSTINERE

Tr: In month of sweet May in a blossomed orchard I did stray, a shepherdess found I 'neath a flower spray: watching her lambs play, such grief she did display, as I to you will say: 'Robin, sweet and gay, lost now for ay; great is my grief as I go from you away!' I who would stay, a kiss to pay, found her heart in disarray for Robin's love, yea, who now had gone his way and left her in great dismay.

Mo: O cross, of penitence the sign, key divine, O grace, and the scourge of sin, duct wherein mercy flows, rooted tree, justice is thine, of life true line, of glory the ensign, bed of the bridegroom at noon-day's height, fullness of the light dispersing sorrow's cloudy night, pangs of conscience putting to flight; this let each man bear, on it cast his care, the cross all may dare who wish to share truly in the light with true delight.[42]

Tenor: BEARING.

Here the triplum is set in May, evoking springtime, new life and, by association, the season of Easter, corresponding well with the motetus which is addressed to the Cross. Similarly, the shepherdess' lambs playing in the orchard have their counterpart in the Paschal Lamb of God. The tenor is based on the *Sustinere* melisma from an alleluia for the Finding of the Holy Cross: 'Alleluia. Dulce lignum, dulces claves, dulcia ferens pondera, quae sola fuisti

[41] *Mo.*, fols. 74v-76r; *Ba.*, fol. 11; motet edited in Thomas (ed.), *Robin and Marion Motets*, ii. 3-4.
[42] Trans. T. and A. Hemming, in Thomas (ed.), *Robin and Marion Motets*, ii. 26.

digna sustinere regem caelorum et Dominum'.[43] The liturgical resonance of the tenor reinforces the Easter symbolism of the upper voices and highlights the centrality of the Cross to an interpretation of this motet. Viewed through this filter, the grieving shepherdess who weeps because Robin has gone away echoes the lament of the beloved who has lost her lover in the Song of Songs,[44] in turn mirroring the Christian grief associated with the crucifixion as described in the motetus. This motet has a predominantly 'sacred' theme as demonstrated by the tenor and motetus, which is then recast into vernacular terms in the triplum.

The motif of the absence of Robin appears again in another motet, *Par une matinee / Mellis stilla / DOMINO*.[45] However, unlike the previous example, the text concludes with the joyful moment of the longed-for lovers' reunion, bringing an end to Marion's lamenting.

Triplum
Par une matinee
El mois joli d'avril
Mariete ai trovee
Regretant son ami.
En un pré flori,
Soz un glai foili
Un chant mout joli
D'oisillones, chantans
En un boschet entor mi,
Si com eloie esbatant
Et pensant ai oi;
S'en fui resbaudi
Et s'en fui resjoi.
S'oi Marot disant:
'Biaus doz amis Robin,
Que j'aim mout et de finz,
Amorous et jolis,
Por quoi demorés vous tant?'
Ainsi se va dementant
La bele, la blonde en sospirant.
D'iluec a poi venoit Robin chantant,
Encontre lui sidi va Marot
Mout grant joie fesant.
Tres tout maintenant
Icil dui amant,
Lor jeu demenant,
Vont; et je m'en part atant.

Tenor: DOMINO

Motetus
Mellis stilla,
Maris stella,
Rosa primula,
Tu mamilla
Stillans mella,
Iesse virgula,
Expers paris,
Virgo, paris
Patrem filia.
Ordo stupet,
Cuius supplet
Vicem gratia.
Mediatrix,
Vite datrix,
Mundi domina,
Via vite,
Mortis triste
Tu victoria,
Per te detur,
Ut purgetur
Fecis scoria.
Qua purgati
Tua grati
Sint memoria.

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[43] 'Alleluia. Sweet wood, sweet nails, bearing the sweet weight, you alone were worthy of bearing the Lord, king of heaven'; *LU*, 1456, trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 170.
[44] Song of Songs, 5:2-8.
[45] *Mo.*, fols. 72v-75r; *Ba.*, fol. 36; motet edited in Thomas (ed.), *Robin and Marion Motets*, ii. 1-2.

Tr: On a morning at prime in lovely April time, Mariette I discover lamenting her lover. In a flowery glade 'neath the rushes' shade, a most sweet ringing of little birds, singing within a thicket hard by, all as I went wandering and pondering there heard I; how it raised my heart and filled with joy each part. I heard Marion say: 'Robin, my love so gay, greatly I love you and true, loving and handsome too, why are you so long away?' Thus wends her way a-crying the lovely, the fair one a-sighing. But see whence swift comes her Robin singing, to him goes Marion with no delay on her great joy winging. Now the time is here when these lovers dear joining in their game, go; and I shall do the same.

Mo: Honied potion, star of ocean, rose in spring blowing, breast overflowing with honey's trace, stem of Jesse's race, matchless, mateless, daughter, maid, bears Father, wondrous case. Nature dazed, stand amazed, gives place to such grace. Mediator, life-creator, queen of this world's space, way of all life, who in death's strife sorrow all can chase, through thy urging, may the purging come of all things base. Those made thus pure thy grace their cure let their hearts encase.[46]

Tenor: LORD.

The reunion of Robin and Marion recalls that of the Lover and the Beloved of the Song of Songs,[47] which allegorises the Christian joy at the resurrection of Christ, a theme which is highlighted by the liturgical associations of the Easter tenor *DOMINO*.[48] Within this framework, the motif of a tearful, grieving woman and a man meeting in a garden on a Spring morning alludes strongly to the reunion of Mary Magdalene and Christ following his resurrection. These resurrection themes are expanded by the motetus which, through its reference to the virgin birth by which humanity can receive divine grace, emphasises Mary's role in the history of redemption. The floral imagery of the triplum, which is set in a 'flowery glade', is transposed in the motetus into the symbol of the rose, celebrating Mary's purity and chastity, and is further echoed by the reference to the stem of Jesse, which produced a branch (Mary) and a flower (Christ).[49] As in the previous example, the pastourelle figure of Marion is juxtaposed with 'the star of the ocean', the Virgin Mary, in order to bring into dialogue two contrasting forms of love.

A similar juxtaposition occurs in Gautier de Coinci's *chanson pieuse*, *Hui matin à l'ajournee*, a *contrafactum* of a pastourelle. In this example, the refrain plays with the linguistic similarity of the names Mary and Marot in order to criticise those who choose a rustic, earthly love over the love of the Virgin Mary:

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[46] Trans. T. and A. Hemming, in Thomas (ed.), *Robin and Marion Motets*, ii. 26.
[47] See chapter 8 of Song of Songs.
[48] The tenor is derived from the Easter gradual *Hec dies. Confitemini Domino* – see above, page 198, for details and translation.
[49] See Isaiah 11:1.

O. o. o. o. o. o.
N'i a tel dorenlot,
Pour voir, tot a un mot
Sache qui m'ot
Mar voit, mar ot
Qui lait Marie pour Marot.

(O, o, o, o, o, o,
There is no tra-la-la like this
Truly, in a word
He who hears me should know
Woe that he sees her, woe unto him
Who leaves Mary for Marion.)[50]

As well as outlining a choice between two modes of love, the rustic and pastoral or the sacred and holy, this piece illustrates that it is possible to sing an almost identical song of love to both Marion and Mary, and so it is vital to identify the object of your song:[51]

Qui que chant de Mariette,
Je chant de Marie,
Chascun an li doi par dete
Une raverdie.

(Whoever may sing of Mariette,
I sing of Mary,
Every year I owe her the debt
Of a *reverdie*.)[52]

The possibilities inherent in this analogy between an earthly lady and the Virgin Mary are exploited to great effect by Adam in one of his musical insertions, no. 85. Sung as an act of praise and devotion to the Virgin, Adam chooses to model this item upon a trouvère chanson, *Tant ai d'amours apris et entendu*,[53] a courtly song of love. The previous chapter demonstrated how, in constructing his new text for this item, Adam drew on images such as the rose, the stem of Jesse and the idealised lady, employed in both *chansons pieuses* and courtly love poetry, as a means of emphasising Mary's dual nature, at once both human and divine.[54] This ambiguity of imagery extends to the model upon which Adam's item is based. In this chanson, the lyric protagonist describes his beloved

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[50] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. Koenig, no. 62, vv. 14-19; trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 64.
[51] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 64.
[52] vv. 20-23; trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 64.
[53] R 2054. Although Adam cites this trouvère text as his source, the melody of this chanson is also preserved as accompanying the text of a *chanson pieuse* dedicated to Mary and it would seem likely that Adam was aware of this when he chose this model.
[54] See Chapter 3, 133-5.

lady, the object of his affections, using language commonly employed for the adoration of the Virgin and reminiscent of that used in numerous devotional songs.[55] She is portrayed as:

> Douce dame, prouz et sage et vaillanz,
> Qui de beauté, de sen, de cortoisie
> Avez passé totes dames vivanz
>
> (Sweet lady, worthy and wise and distinguished
> Who of beauty, sense and courtesy
> Has passed all other women alive.)

These descriptive phrases would be equally appropriate in songs of praise to Mary and, indeed, an example of this 'douce dame' trope within the context of the sacred corpus occurs in the thirteenth-century liturgical drama, *Le Trois Maries*,[56] which depicts the three Marys going to anoint the body of the crucified Christ and discovering that he has risen from the grave. As in the *Ludus*, this trope traverses the generic boundaries, figuring in a similar way in a variety of contrasting contexts. 'Douce dame' appears first in a 'secular' context, sung by the merchant from whom they buy the ointment on the way to the tomb: 'Douce dames, ne demandés mais ce; certes je voil aler après Jhesu: tout cil sont sot qui ne vont apres lui'.[57] It is then utilised in an explicitly 'sacred' context by the angel who tells Mary Magdalene that Jesus is alive: 'Douce dame, ne plourés plus; partant vostres le Roy Jhesu proichainnement venra à toi, s'aligera ta grant dolour'.[58]

Elsewhere in Adam's source chanson, the protagonist expresses his experience of earthly 'amour', describing himself as having 'skill and understanding' of the ways of love.[59] In a direct counterpoint to the redeeming love of the Virgin described in Adam's new text, he portrays love as 'cruel'[60] and complains that it offers 'three heavy burdens'.[61] Like Adam's text, which concludes with an entreaty for compassion,[62] and in a parody of the requests for mercy common to the *chanson pieuse*, the protagonist begs his lady to pray

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[55] See, for example, *L'autrier m'iere rendormiz*, a *chanson pieuse* thought to be by either the Châtelain de Coucy or Raoul de Ferrières, edited by Rosenberg et al., in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 219-20. In this song, Mary is described as sweet, 'douce', full of goodness, 'bonté' and virtue, 'bien'. Also, in a line which recalls Adam's description of Mary as 'chamber of the heavenly bridegroom', she is called 'chamber of the deity', 'Chambre de la deïté'.
[56] Saint-Quentin, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 75.
[57] 'Sweet ladies, do not ask me this. Certainly, I want to follow Jesus and all those who do not follow him are foolish'.
[58] 'Sweet lady, do not cry anymore. As you leave, the King Jesus will come near to you and relieve your great grief'.
[59] 'apris et entendu'.
[60] 'crüel'.
[61] 'les tres griés fais qu'Amors ont portendu'.
[62] 'misericors'.

that God would have pity upon him.[63] Adam's chosen model is a prime example of the many overlapping features of sacred and secular song, especially that directed towards a female figure. This melody has been transformed from a secular lyric to a devotional one, bringing with it themes and images – many of which are concerned with love and loving – which can be transposed into a different register. By basing his devotional song to Mary upon a model derived from the secular repertory, Adam is able to set these various different modes of love in dialogue and effect a contrast between Mary and 'Marion', Ave and Eva.

III: A Martyr for Love

Mary is not the only sacred figure to be allegorised within the profane repertory. There are numerous motets that employ stock religious images associated with the life of John the Baptist which are then parodied or allegorised in secular lyrics. The motet *Clamans in deserto / JOHANNE*[64] narrates various episodes from John the Baptist's life, including the Visitation of the Virgin Mary to his mother Elizabeth.[65] This motet forms part of a group of works which allegorise the scriptural imagery of crying in the wilderness, derived from the description of John found in Matthew 3:3: 'For this is he that was spoken of by Isaiah the prophet, saying: A voice of one crying in the desert, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths'. In *Quant vient / Ne sai que je die*,[66] this image is translated into pastoral terms, reframed as Marion lamenting Robin's inconsistency,[67] whilst in the *Fauvel* motet *Veritas arpie* it is recast in satirical terms, taking the form of an attack on contemporary vice.[68] This allegorisation assumes a different mode in the motet *Grevé m'ont li mal d'amer / JOHANNE*, which combines a tenor taken from an alleluia for the feast of John the Baptist with an upper voice complaining of the pains of love,[69] providing an ironic transposition of the martyrdom of

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[63] 'a jointes mains je vos requier et prie / por celui Deu .../ qu'aiez pitié dou plus leal amant / qui ainz amast a nul jor de sa vie' (with joined hands I ask you and pray that God ... might have pity on your most loyal friend who has loved you all the days of his life).

[64] *Flor.*, fol. 409v; see also Tischler (ed.), *Earliest Motets*, i. 453-60, no. 64.

[65] Wyndham Thomas, 'The *Iohanne* Melisma: Some Aspects of Tenor Organisation in Thirteenth-Century Motets', *Music Review,* 54 (Feb. 1993), 1-13, at 4.

[66] *Ba.*, fols. 44r-45v; *Mo.*, fols. 304v-306v; see also Tischler (ed.), *Earliest Motets*, i. 453-60, no. 64. For more information, see Thomas, '*Iohanne* Melisma', 5.

[67] See Thomas, '*Iohanne* Melisma', 5.

[68] *Fauv.*, fol. 13v.

[69] *Mo.*, fols. 251r-v; see also Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, 2 vols. (New York, 1968), i. 357-9; Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition* (New Haven, 1982), iii. 32, no. 216.

John the Baptist. Similarly, the liturgical reference to John the Baptist 'through whose sacrament the followers of Christ are cleansed of Original Sin' is echoed in the upper voice which claims that suffering the torment of love will improve the character.[70]

This theme of the moral improvement effected by the pains of love features in several of the trouvère chansons employed as models by Adam,[71] creating a secular counterpart to the promise of redemption from sin as portrayed in the *Ludus*. For his song of praise to John the Baptist, Adam chooses a secular rather than sacred model, employing the trouvère chanson *Quant voi la glaie meure* (no. 79).[72] The original text of this chanson opens with evocations of springtime, with its related resonances of Easter and themes of redemption and salvation:

Quant voi la glaie meüre
Et le rosier espanir
Et seur la bele verdure
La rousee resplendir.

(When I see the iris ripen
And the sweet rosebud blossoms
And over the foliage
The dew shines.)

As in numerous motets which parody John the Baptist's life, the lyric persona describes himself as a martyr for love, providing an ironic equivalent to John the Baptist's death attributed to the 'power of carnal lust'.[73]

He las, ma dame est si dure
Que de ma joie n'a cure
Ne de ma dolor guerir;
Ainz me fet vivre martir.

(Alas! My lady is so hard
That of my joy she has no concern
Nor my pain will she spare
Rather make my life that of a martyr.)

The protagonist expands upon this theme of suffering, complaining that he sighs for the one whom he desires and can think of nothing else, and lamenting that his lady does not reciprocate his feelings: 'Lors soupir / pour cele que tant desir ... / soupriz de l'amour de li

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[70] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 74; see Matt. 14:1-12 for an account of the martyrdom of John the Baptist.
[71] See, for example, no. 67 and no. 83.
[72] R 2107.
[73] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 74.

/ que ailleurs n'est ma pensee'.[74] Thereafter, he speaks of the pain of love, stating that he would rather be killed by a scorpion than suffer this anguish: 'et melz vendroit la pointure / d'un escorpion sentir / et morir / que de ma dolor languir'.[75] However, he infers that he will be improved through his suffering, a theme which resonates with the redeeming power of the sacrament of baptism prevalent in Adam's new text. Once again, Adam translates the standard trouvère topoi of Spring, unrequited love and the pain and suffering which it causes into a pious and spiritual context in order to explore the various points of contact between different modes of devotion and create an ironic contrast with John's dedication to Christ which resulted in his own real martyrdom.

IV: The Heavenly Bridegroom

The imagery of Christ as lover of the Church and the soul, which occurs throughout much scriptural and devotional literature, enables authors to associate him within their compositions with the protagonist of vernacular lyrics. Within this context, the secular figure of the maiden lamenting the loss of her lover, whether he is dead, absent or involved with another woman, becomes Mary or Ecclesia grieving over the crucified Christ.[76] Motifs of absence and separation followed by a joyful reunion, common to many vernacular lyrics, are paralleled in elements of the Passion narrative, with the Crucifixion followed by the Resurrection and similarly with the Ascension followed by Pentecost.[77] Both these periods are marked by a sense of separation and abandonment coupled with hope and expectation of return, in the first place, the return of the resurrected Christ, and in the second, the arrival of the Holy Spirit which comforts the Church whilst it waits in faith for the Second Coming. Often, chansons which contain these topoi are set in the passage from Winter to Spring, which recalls the period of the Church Calendar from Lent to Easter and Pentecost and serves as an analogy of the emotions of the lyric persona, balanced 'between despair and hope, death and renewal'.[78] Central to these feasts are the essential themes of 'presence and absence, desolation and joy', subjects which may be explored and expanded within both erotic and eschatological contexts.[79]

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[74] 'Then I sigh for the one whom I desire ... surprised by love of her that I can think of nothing else'; edited in Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler (eds.), *Chanter M'Estuet: Songs of the Trouvères* (London, 1981), 381-2.
[75] 'But I would rather feel the prick of a scorpion and die, than languish from my pain'.
[76] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 128; see the discussion of *Au doz mois / Crux forma / SUSTINERE* above.
[77] Ibid., 137; see *Par une matinee / Mellis stilla / DOMINO* above.
[78] Ibid., 168.
[79] Ibid., 137.

The motet *A cele ou j'ai mon cuer mis / AMO[RIS]*[80] plays on this theme of amorous separation:

Motetus:
A cele, ou j'ai mon cuer mis,
Mon cuer et mon cors li doi[n]g:
Tout mais a, ja!
Ce poise moi,
Que trop m'est loi[n]g,
Car trop resoi[n]g,
Que ne me guerpist.
Douce dame debonere,
Ne me lessiés ainsi,
Car se voz volés retraire,
Si m'avés traï.
Car plus a d'un an,
Que je ne vi
Vostre dous viaire,
Qui si me redue,
Dieus, que j'aim si.
Dame, merci!
L'en dit, qu'au besoi[n]g
Voit on son ami.

Tenor: AMO[RIS].

Mo: I give my heart and my body to her, where I placed my heart: she has it forever and ever! It burdens me that she is so far from me, for I worry that she may abandon me. Sweet noble lady, don't leave me like this, for if you withdraw from me you have betrayed me. For it has been more than a year since I saw your sweet face, which haunts me, God, which I love so. Lady, have mercy! It is said that one recognises one's friend in a time of need.[81]

Tenor: [OF] Love [*or*: I LOVE]

In this example, a male protagonist laments the absence of his beloved, beseeching her not to withdraw her love, whilst in the tenor (derived from the Pentecost alleluia)[82] the Holy Spirit is implored to kindle its fire of love in the hearts of the faithful, creating a humorous parallelism between a spurned lover waiting for his beloved to return and the community of the Church looking forward in faith to the return of their Saviour. As seen with regard to Adam's offering for John the Baptist, the figure of the suffering male for whom love is a 'painful martyrdom' provides a further element of correspondence between the sacred and profane lyric. This allows the male protagonist central to the majority of trouvère chansons to be identified variously as a figure for Christ, as a 'willing martyr of love, or as an endangered soul in need of divine salvation'.[83] Within such a reading, the motif of the

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[80] See Tischler (ed.), *Motets of the Montpellier Codex*, iii. 56, no. 245.
[81] Trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 144.
[82] *LU*, 880, 'Alleluia. Veni sancte spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris in eis ignem accende' (Alleluia. Come, Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of your faithful ones, and kindle the fire of your love in them); this tenor is also used for Adam's motet, no. 135: see below for more details.
[83] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 160.

lover's impending death, a death endured willingly for the sake of love, and caused through betrayal by his beloved, can be associated with Christ's crucifixion.[84]

The motet *Ne sai tant amour server / Ja de bone amour / SUSTINERE*[85] contrasts the image of the suffering male lover in the triplum and motetus with a tenor drawn from an alleluia for the Finding of the Cross,[86] related to Christ's Passion:

Triplum	*Motetus*
Ne sai tant amour servir	Ja de bone amour
Que me veille guerredoner	Mes cuers ne se departira,
Ce qu'ai mis en bien amer,	Mes sanz nul sejor
Quant ele m'a en despit	Adés la servira,
Qui tant me fait la nuit soupirer;	Quant qu'a ma dame plera
Si que quant je mi doi reposer,	Qui tant a de valour,
Ne me sai de cele part tourner	Dont ja a nul jour
Que penser ne me face fremir,	Mes cuers joie n'avra.
Qu'ele me tiegne en mon lit,	S'en sui en dolor,
Amours, quant je mi doi dormir.	Pour ce que ne la vi pieça
	S'en chanterai par douçor:
	Hé, Dieu! la verrai je ja,
	La bele qui mon cuer a?

Tenor: SUSTINERE

Tr: I don't know how to serve love enough for her to be willing to grant me recompense for what I have invested in good loving, when she who causes me to sigh all night long despises me, so that when I should be resting, no matter which way I turn, the thought makes me tremble *that she holds me in my bed, Love, when I should be sleeping.*

Mo: My heart will never depart from good love, but I will always serve her without respite, in whatever way it may please my lady who has such worth, and of whom my heart will never have joy. Thus I am in sorrow, because I haven't seen her for a long time. Thus I will sing sweetly: *Hey, God! will I ever see her, the fair one who has my heart?*[87]

Tenor: BEARING

By combining these texts, the redactor effects an amusing dialogue between Christ, the rejected Bridegroom, and the male lover who experiences the pains and grief of an unreturned love. Adam similarly exploits this dualism of language, image and metaphor within his narrative and its insertions. Employed in the midst of numerous liturgical items replete with ritual and scriptural associations, it is possible to read elements of Adam's cited trouvère chansons as allegorical recastings of sacred events, in which their erotic

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[84] Ibid., 168.
[85] See Gordon A. Anderson and Elizabeth A. Close (eds.), *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. ac. fr. f. 13521* (Dallas, 1975), no. 16.
[86] See above, page 199-200, for details.
[87] Trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 170-1.

connotations are 'redeemed'. By quoting their melodies in combination with his devotional texts, Adam draws the analogy between the male lover of an earthly lady and Christ, lover of the human soul.

V: Degrees of Love: A Common Code

As illustrated by the foregoing discussion, it is the motif of love which provides one of the central points of allegory between the sacred and profane repertories, allowing composers to fuse elements derived from a variety of genres and registers. Love is frequently found at the heart of both liturgical and secular lyrics, exemplified in the spiritual love of God for mankind, or mankind for God, and the erotic love between a man and a woman. Within the *Ludus*' thematic framework, love provides an interface between the sacred and profane musical insertions and it is the interpretation of love which supplies the key to understanding their relationship, both to each other and to the work as a whole. An examination of the presentation of love in the *Ludus* and other related works enables us to uncover new levels of meaning within Adam's narrative and to grasp more fully the way in which it would have been comprehended in contemporary reception.

The interaction between the sacred and the profane occurs frequently in a variety of works and genres which exploit the shared imagery of spiritual and erotic love. This duality of earthly and heavenly love is illustrated clearly in the motet *Aucuns vont souvent / Amor, qui cor vulnerat / KYRIE ELEYSON*.[88] The liturgical tenor, taken from the *Kyrie* of the Mass, is a plea for divine mercy, whilst the Latin motetus denounces erotic love:

Motetus:
Amor, qui cor vulnerat
Humanum, quem generat
Carnalis affectio,
Numquam sine vicio
Vel raro potest esse,
Quoniam est necesse,
Ut quo plus diligitur
Res, que cito labitur
Et transit, eominus
Diligatur Dominus.

Mo: Love, which wounds the human heart, generated by carnal lust, can never or rarely be without sin, for it must needs be that the more a thing is loved that quickly decays and passes, the less will the Lord be loved.[89]

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[88] Tischler (ed.), *Motets of the Montpellier Codex*, iii. 86-8, no. 264. For a detailed exploration of this motet, see Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 48-50.
[89] Trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 48.

In contrast, the vernacular triplum defends worldly love against the ridicule of envious people and praises the virtue of the loyal lover:

Triplum:
Et si n'a en li felonnie
N'envie sus autre gent,
Mes a chascun s'umelie
Et parole courtoisement.

Tr: And thus there is no wickedness in him, nor envy of others; rather, he is humble before all and speaks courteously.[90]

Huot offers several different readings of the motet, one of which being a 'two-sided critique of false, self-interested love'.[91] False love is condemned in the triplum for its conflict with courtly values and in the motetus for its opposition to spiritual matters, whereas true, perfect love, as demonstrated in the love of God and in an honourable human love, is praised in both upper voices.[92] This 'continuum' of love, within which friendship and conjugal love are viewed as a reflection of divine love, was common in medieval thinking. In his treatise *De Amore Dei*, Bernard of Clairvaux speaks of four degrees of love and suggests that mankind was created to love God but, as a result of the Fall, has become selfish and has lost the ability to love in the way that God intended:[93]

> Verumtamen quia carnales sumus, et de carnis concupiscentia nascimur, necesse est ut cupiditas vel amor noster a carne incipiat; quae si recto ordine dirigitur, quibusdam suis gradibus duce gratia proficiens, spiritu tandem consummabitur. ... In primis ergo diligit seipsum homo propter se; caro quippe est, et nil sapere valet praeter se. Cumque se videt per se non posse subsistere, Deum quasi sibi necessarium incipit per fidem inquirere, et diligere. Diligit itaque in secundo gradu Deum, sed propter se, non propter ipsum. At vero cum ipsum coeperit occasione propriae necessitatis colere et frequentare, cogitando, legendo, orando, obediendo, quadam hujuscemodi familiaritate paulatim sensimque Deus innotescit, consequenter et dulcescit: et sic gustato quam suavis est Dominus, transit ad tertium gradum, ut diligat Deum, non jam propter se, sed propter ipsum. Sane in hoc gradu diu statur: et nescio si a quoquam hominum quartus in hac vita perfecte apprehenditur, ut se scilicet diligat homo tantum propter Deum.[94]

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[90] vv. 14-17; trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 49.
[91] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 49.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Paul Diemer, *Love Without Measure: Extracts from the Writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux* (London, 1990), 13.
[94] Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Diligendo Deo*, cap. xv. *De quatuor gradibus amoris, et felici statu patriae coelestis*, in *PL* clxxxii. 998: 'Because we are flesh and blood born of the desire of the flesh, our desire for love must start in the flesh, and it will then, if properly directed, progress under grace until it is fulfilled in the spirit... At first a person loves himself for his own sake. He is flesh and is able only to know himself. But when he sees that he cannot subsist of himself, then he begins by faith to seek and love God as necessary for himself. And so in the second stage he loves God, not yet for God's sake, but for his own sake. However when on account of his own necessity, he begins to meditate, read, pray and obey, he becomes accustomed little by little to know God and consequently to delight in him. When he has tasted and seen how sweet is the Lord he passes to the third state wherein he loves God for God's sake and not for his own. And here he remains, for I doubt whether the fourth stage has ever been fully reached. The stage that is, wherein a man loves himself only for God's sake', translation by Dietmer, in *Love Without Measure*, 22.

This provides an informative context within which to examine the *Ludus* and its insertions. Its allegorical narrative which, through Prudence's travels to the court of heaven and her meeting with God, depicts the journey of the soul towards God, echoes Bernard's doctrine of the progression of the Christian through these stages of love until he achieves an ecstatic union with his Creator. Similarly, these 'levels' of love, from that of the flesh to that of the spirit, are mirrored in the diversity of the *Ludus*' lyric insertions. Whilst differing in terms of register, language and imagery, Adam's *contrafacta* models share several themes such as faithfulness, honour and self-sacrificial love which form the core of the *Ludus*' allegory. Adam's use of both sacred and profane *contrafacta* illustrates the many different facets and degrees of love, between God and mankind and between man and woman. Adam includes a piece based upon a pastourelle, *L'autrier estoie montes sur mon palefroi amblant*,[95] which speaks of a rustic mode of love between a knight and a shepherdess, examples of courtly love songs, such as *Quant voi la flor parois*[96] and *Loiaus desir*,[97] depicting varying relationships between a man and a woman, and liturgical items such as *A solis ortu cardine*,[98] which describe the love of humanity for Christ and *Jesu Redemptor omnium*,[99] which depicts God's love for mankind. For Adam and his contemporary audience, earthly love was considered an analogy of the divine love which lay at the centre of their experience and so, by selecting musical items drawn from both sacred and profane repertories which explore love in its many guises, Adam was able to explicate the central theme of his narrative, that of the redeeming love of God for humanity.

This juxtaposition of contrasting forms of love occurs frequently throughout the motet corpus and finds expression in pieces which combine secular and hagiographical texts in dialogue. These contrast erotic love and desire with praise to a virgin who has transcended erotic love in favour of a spiritual love,[100] often casting her conviction to remain celibate in matrimonial terms which evoke the motif of the Heavenly Bridegroom. The motet *Je sui jonete et jolie / Hé Dieus, je n'ai pas mari / VERITATEM*[101] incorporates a 'parodic juxtaposition of chastity and adultery' through its employment of a tenor which

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[95] R 936, no. 129.
[96] R 550, no. 37.
[97] R 1172, no. 83.
[98] *CAO*, no. 8248, no. 77a.
[99] *CAO*, no. 8273, no. 83a.
[100] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 50.
[101] For more details, see ibid., 110-11.

derives from various Marian feasts and the Common of Virgins.[102] The triplum and motetus of this motet contain utterances of a young adulterous wife, who is far more concerned with her own pleasure than with faithfulness or chastity. She boasts that her husband would 'die of jealousy' (Tr. v. 9) if he was aware of her infidelity and 'proposes that if he objects to her lover he should take one himself (Mo. vv. 12-13)'.[103] This lascivious wife contrasts dramatically with the worthy bride who is the subject of Psalm 44, the source of the gradual *Propter veritatem. Audi filia*,[104] from which the tenor derives. The tenor's liturgical origin evokes both Mary as chaste bride and the virgin martyrs who refused marriage, bringing these figures into direct opposition to the adulterous wife of triplum and motetus.

A similar device is employed in the *Ludus* for the song of devotion to St Agnes (no. 67), who is singled out amongst the virgin saints. The original trouvère text of *Tant ai amors siervie*[105] associated with this melody offers several humorous comparisons with the life of St Agnes as narrated in the Golden Legend.[106] The protagonist of the trouvère chanson states that he was an unwilling servant of Love but has subsequently been released from its power by God:

J'ai esté en sa baillie;
Mès bien m'a Deus par sa pitié gueri,
Quant delivré m'a de sa seignorie.

(I was in Love's power
But God in His mercy has cured me
And freed me from Love's lordship.)

In gratitude, he has committed himself to loving God as opposed to an earthly lady.[107] This parallels the life of Agnes who, her legend tells, forsook erotic love of the flesh and rejected all human suitors in order to devote herself entirely to the service of God, taking Christ as her husband.[108] In juxtaposing his new semi-sacred text, sung in honour of a virgin saint who chose divine love over all other forms, with a melody that previously accompanied a text complaining of the power of erotic love, Adam brings these two

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[102] Ibid., 110.
[103] Ibid., 111.
[104] *LU*, 1602-3.
[105] R 711.
[106] For a detailed account of the life of St Agnes, see Jacobus Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), i. 101-4.
[107] 'Or me gart Deus et d'amie et d'amer / fors de cele que l'en doit aourer; / la ne puet nus faillir a grant soudee' (God protects me both from love and loving except for him, whom one cannot fail to adore).
[108] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 102.

repertories into dialogue in an effort to provide models of both divine and human love whilst reaffirming the *Ludus*' teaching that love between humans should mirror that between God and His followers.

The interface between the sacred and the profane is not restricted to the motet corpus; it is also exploited to great effect in the *Court de Paradis*,[109] a *roman* which exhibits a number of similarities with the *Ludus* in both its subject matter and its method of employing its musical *contrafacta*. An anonymous thirteenth-century narrative, it survives in three manuscripts,[110] one of which (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 25532) includes musical notation for its nineteen interleaved refrains. In addition to these refrains, the work contains one Latin liturgical incipit.[111] The text describes a carol performed in heaven on the feast of All Saints, in which Christ, Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary oversee the celebrations. Here, the secular court festivities of the thirteenth-century romance are translated into heaven. The souls of the saved take part, grouped, as in the first section of the *Ludus*, according to their status, for instance, Old Testament prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, widows and faithful married women. As each group joins in the carol, they sing a love refrain that is in some way related to their identity and 'participation in divine love'.[112] Thus, after the angels, who arrive singing the *Te Deum*, the prophets sing about waiting for love, whilst the martyrs sing about love's pain.[113]

The *Court de Paradis* makes extensive use of refrains and, in the same way as Adam transforms his secular chansons into songs of devotion, the author transposes the language of profane love into a spiritual register. This transposition takes a variety of forms as the author appropriates characteristic motifs of secular love in order to redefine 'heavenly pleasures as equivalent to earthly ones'.[114] Several secular refrains are recast as utterances of religious devotion, such as: 'Vrai Dieux, la joie que j'ai / Me vient de vos'

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[109] Eva Vilamo-Pentti (ed.), *La Court de Paradis: Poème Anonyme du XIIIe Siècle* (Helsinki, 1953); see also Douglas L. Buffum, 'The Refrains of the *Court de Paradis* and of a *Salut d'Amour* (Jubinal, 235)', *Modern Language Notes*, 27 (1912), 5-11. The refrains are published in Friedrich Gennrich's *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII. und dem Ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts, mit den Überlieferten Melodien*, 3 vols. (Dresden, 1921; Göttingen, 1927; Langen, 1963), ii. 222-5.

[110] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 837, fols. 57-60v; f. fr. 1802, fols. 95-106v (refrains are underlined in lead) and f. fr. 25532, fols. 331v-335 (music, except for refrain vdB 1786).

[111] For the *Te Deum*.

[112] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 78.

[113] Again, this is reminiscent of the *Ludus* in which, in the first section, songs venerate the various groups of saints according to their particular characteristics and, in the second section, the Virtues present the Perfect Man with gifts accompanied by a song which is related to their own identity.

[114] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 116.

(True God, the love I have comes to me from you)[115] which is a pious parody of 'Amis dous, / li malz que j'ai me vient de vos' (Sweet lover, the pain I have comes to me from you).[116] In other examples, the refrains retain their original words but these are invested with a new sense, transforming '*amor* into *caritas*'.[117] This is demonstrated in the following refrain sung by the Apostles: 'Tout ainsi va qui d'amors vit / Et qui bien aimme' (Just like this goes the one who lives by love and who loves well).[118] By placing secular refrains in a spiritual context, they are supplied with a revised devotional meaning.

Perhaps most interesting for our consideration of the *Ludus* are several of the refrains which describe a conversion from an imperfect or misguided love to one that is perfect and true. An example occurs as the widows join the festivities and sing 'Se j'ai amé folement, / Sage sui, si m'en repent' (If I have loved foolishly, I am wise now and I repent).[119] Playing on the motif of Christ as Heavenly Bridegroom, their refrain suggests that, though they have experienced marital love, they now dedicate themselves entirely to the love of Christ.[120] Within the context of the *Ludus*, this 'conversion' from one mode of love to another is key to decoding Adam's *contrafacta*. Representing the full range of love from egocentric and self-serving to virtuous and selfless, the musical items – alongside an allegorical narrative which focuses upon the redeeming love of God – demonstrate the translation of an erotic love into one which is pure and spiritual. Towards the close of the *Court de Paradis*, the reason for the saints' celebrations is made clear – they rejoice because, through the love of God who became a man, was crucified and rose to life, they are redeemed and can spend eternity in his presence:

> Pour ce sunt de chanter engrant,
> Si chantent tuit communalment
> De fine amor qui les mestroie
> Et chascuns chantoit endroit soi:
> 'Touz li cuers me rit de joie
> Quant Dieu voi'.
>
> (For this they wish to sing and so sing all together of fine love which rules them and each one sang in his own way 'My whole heart laughs with joy when I see God').[121]

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[115] vv. 318-9, translation by Butterfield, in *Poetry and Music*, 115.
[116] vdB, refr. 127; trans. Butterfield, in *Poetry and Music*, 116.
[117] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 116.
[118] vv. 281-2, trans. Butterfield, in *Poetry and Music*, 116.
[119] vv. 348-9.
[120] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 81.
[121] vv. 500-05, trans. Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, in *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1993), 105.

As the previous examples demonstrate, during the time when the *Ludus* was being compiled there existed a complex relationship between sacred and profane discourse in medieval writing and the methods for interpretation were numerous. Sometimes, profane elements would be used within sacred texts to provide negative examples, for instance, to depict sin in a fallen world.[122] Such an example occurs in a sermon by Jacques de Vitry, who uses Fair Aelis, a stock figure of the rondeau, as an illustration of worldly desire and playfulness: 'Hujusmodi autem mulieres quando ad publicum exire vel etiam ire debent, magnam diei partem in apparatu suo consummunt. *Quant Aeliz fu levee,* et *quant ele fu lavee,* et *la Messe fu chantee,* et *deable l'en ont emportee*' (And in this way women, when they have to go out in public or elsewhere, spend a great part of the day preening themselves. *When Aelis had gotten up*, and *when she had washed,* and *the Mass had been sung*, and *devils carried her away*).[123] Conversely, profane citations or imagery could be used in devotional texts and imbued with a new meaning, achieved either using 'allegorical glossing' or by locating them within a context that enforces moral or spiritual significance.[124] An example of this method is evident in a Latin sermon which incorporates several verses taken from Baude de la Kakerie's song *Belle Aalliz*. The following verses are quoted:

Belle Aalliz mainz s'en leva,
Vesti son cors et para.
En un vergier s'en entra,
Cinc floreste i trova,
Un chapelet fet en a,
De rose florie.
Por Dé, trahet vos en la,
Qui n'amez mie.

(Fair Aelis rose in the morning, got dressed and put on her finery. She went into an orchard, found five little flowers there, made a wreath from them, of blooming roses. For God's sake, move aside, you who do not love.) [125]

The author of the sermon translates the Fair Aelis of the first phrase as the *Sponsa* in the Song of Songs, associated with the Virgin Mary, 'beautiful, sanctified even before "rising" at her birth, adorned for the Bridegroom'.[126] In the latter half of these verses, she is interpreted as the Holy Spirit who entered the orchard, symbol of the Virgin Mary, at the moment of the Annunciation. The five flowers are glossed as Mary's five virtues of hope, faith, charity, humility and virginity, which are fashioned into a wreath with which to

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[122] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 56.
[123] Cited in Tony Hunt, 'De la Chanson au Sermon: *Bele Aalis* et *Sur la Rive de la Mer*', *Romania*, 104 (1983), 433-56, at 436.
[124] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 56.
[125] See Hunt, 'Chanson au Sermon', 433-56.
[126] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 60.

crown Mary as the 'queen of queens'. In the last verse, the phrase 'you who do not love' is taken to refer to heretics, Jews, and insincere Christians who, through their misguided or inadequate love, have been banished from God's presence.[127] That preachers would occasionally make use of vernacular literature and lyrics within their sermons serves to demonstrate that it held a widely understood allegorical significance which Adam exploits in the *Ludus*. Writing for an educated, clerical audience, we can assume that they would also have recognised the allegorical meaning of many of the *contrafacta* and would have been familiar with the conventions for their interpretation within a sacred context.

VI: *Sponsa* and *Sponsus*: The Spiritual Interpretation of Love

The practice of the spiritual interpretation of love, which appears to have influenced Adam in his composition and compilation of the *Ludus*, can be traced to the allegorical biblical poem, the Song of Songs. This was a key text in medieval culture and was the focus of more commentaries in the twelfth century than ever before or since, demonstrating the interest in this period amongst the intellectual circles in the topic of love in all its many guises.[128] As Huot states, the Song of Songs offered a 'precedent which made it possible to redeem virtually any text by imposing an allegorical reading; at the same time, it allowed the recasting of sacred history and theological doctrine in erotic and bodily imagery'.[129] Bernard of Clairvaux and others were attempting to understand what it meant to love God and each other and his conclusions offer a contemporary perspective upon the *Ludus*. For Bernard, love was the focal point of the Christian's relationship with God. During the period from 1135 to 1153, Bernard composed a series of sermons on the Song of Songs which explore the erotic imagery inherent in this biblical book and translate it into spiritual terms. Despite the sensual nature of much of his writings, Bernard was clear about the spirit in which the Song of Songs should be understood and interpreted:

> Afferte pudicas aures ad sermonem qui in manibus est de amore; et cum ipsos cogitatis amantes, non virum et feminam, sed Verbum et animam sentiatis oportet.[130]

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[127] Ibid., 61.

[128] Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century: Eve and the Church*, trans. Jean Birrell, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1998), iii. 90.

[129] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 73.

[130] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cantica Canticorum Sermo*, 61.2, in *PL*, clxxxiii. 1071: 'You must bring chaste ears to listen to this discourse of love which we now have in hand; and, when you think about the lovers in it, you must not understand by them a man and a woman, but the Word and the Soul', translation by Cedric E. Pickford, *The Song of Songs: A Twelfth-Century French Version, Edited from MS. 173 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Le Mans* (London, 1974), xi.

In sermon 83, Bernard explores this idea of the relationship between the soul and God and its desire to be united once more with its Creator:

> Docuimus omnem animam, licet oneratam peccatis, vitiis irretitam ... licet, inquam, sic damnatam, et sic desperatam, docuimus tamen hanc in sese posse advertere, non modo unde respirare in spem veniae, in spem misericordiae queat; sed etiam unde audeat aspirare ad nuptias Verbi, cum Deo inire foedus societatis non trepidet, suave amoris jugum cum Rege ducere angelorum non vereatur.[131]

This longing of the soul for a relationship with God, which Bernard suggests is an innate characteristic, is portrayed throughout Adam's allegorical narrative in Prudence's journey, first with the assistance of Reason and then Faith, until she is face to face with God. Bernard describes this union between God and mankind as a 'nuptial relationship', employing the imagery of the Lover and Beloved of the Song of Songs, and this too finds its counterpart in the *Ludus* in the uniting of the soul created by God with the body fashioned by Nature to form the Perfect Man. Later in this sermon, Bernard repeats his theory concerning the different degrees of love:

> Magna res amor; sed sunt in eo gradus. .... Suspectus est mihi amor cui aliud quid adipiscendi spes suffragari videtur. Infirmus est, qui forte spe subtracta, aut exstinguitur, aut minuitur. Impurus est, qui et aliud cupit. Purus amor mercenarius non est. Purus amor de spe vires non sumit, nec tamen diffidentiae damna sentit. Sponsae hic est.... Sponsae res et spes unus est amor. Hoc sponsa abundat, hoc contentus et sponsus. Nec is aliud quaerit, nec illa aliud habet. Hinc ille sponsus, et sponsa illa est. Is sponsis proprius est, quem alter nemo attingat, nec filius quidem.[132]

Here, Bernard utilises the imagery of the *Sponsa* and *Sponsus* in order to contrast love given in the hope of reciprocation with pure love which has no self-interest. As discussed above, these 'stages' of love find their expression in the *Ludus*' insertions and this principle seems so central to Adam's conception of the *Ludus* that he devotes a song entirely to this idea, sung by Faith:

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[131] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cantica Canticorum Sermo*, 83.1, in *PL* clxxxiii. 1181: 'We have seen how every soul – even if it is burdened with sin, enmeshed in vice ... every soul I say, standing thus under condemnation and without hope, has the power to turn. And then it finds it can not only breathe the fresh air of the hope of pardon and mercy, but also dare to aspire to the nuptials of the Word, not fearing to enter into alliance with God or to bear the sweet yoke of love with the King of angels', trans. Irene M. Edmonds, *On the Song of Songs* (Kalamazoo, 1980), iv. 180-1.

[132] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cantica Canticorum Sermo*, 83.5, *PL* clxxxiii. 1182-3: 'Love is a great reality; but there are degrees to it. .... I suspect the love which seems to be founded on some hope of gain. It is weak, for if the hope of gain is removed it may be extinguished, or at least diminished. It is not pure, as it desires some return. Pure love has no self-interest. Pure love does not gain strength through expectation, nor is it weakened through distrust. This is the love of the Bride ... Love is the being and hope of a bride. She is full of it, and the bridegroom is content with it. He asks nothing else, and she has nothing else to give. That is why he is the bridegroom and she is the bride; this love is the property only of the couple. No-one else can share it, not even a son', translation by Edmonds, *On the Song of Songs*, iv. 184-5.

Amor emptus pretio
Est velut flos arboris
Quem natum vis frigoris
Exstinguit cum folio.
Sed hic quem relatio
Parit plenum foenoris
Non perit in temporis
Austeri flagitio.
Etenim hic amor in tempore
Duro nescit abfore.

(Love bought at a price
Is like the blossom of a tree,
Which, just open, the cold
Kills with the leaf;
But that which repetition
Brings forth, full of interest gained,
Shall not perish in the harsh shame of time;
For this love does not know how to be absent
In hard times.)[133]

The love about which Faith sings is real, unfailing love, like that attributed to God, a love which does not disappear over time. Love 'bought at a price', given in hope of selfish reward, is contrasted with love that is brought forth by repetition, a steady and constant love that does not perish. This song provides another clue to deciphering Adam's *contrafacta*: through his use of items drawn from both sacred and profane repertories and from different literary registers, Adam is able to effect a contrast between the love depicted in, for instance, the pastourelle, given by the knight to the shepherdess in hope of gain, with the unconditional love of God for mankind portrayed throughout the liturgical insertions.

Bernard of Clairvaux was by no means the only theologian to expound the meaning of the Song of Songs. Indeed, there are many examples of sermons composed upon this book which exploit its allegorical potential. One such sermon was composed by the Cistercian Adam of Perseigne[134] and delivered in a convent for women. It is constructed upon a biblical verse from Song of Songs 5:6, 'My soul melted when [my beloved] spoke'.[135] Adam's sermon speaks of love between the soul and Christ, yet it is expressed using profane language. He states that this love begins with desire that torments the soul, and this thirst leads to intoxication until the soul is immersed in complete joy. In order to

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[133] No. 127.
[134] Born mid. twelfth century, he was originally a priest. He became a monk at Marmoutier, then entered the Cistercian order and finally became the abbot of Perseigne in the district of Le Mans in 1188: see Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century*, iii. 58-9.
[135] For a detailed discussion of this sermon, see ibid., 59-60.

achieve this ecstasy, Adam suggests that the nuns need to follow in the footsteps of the heroines of contemporary romances. He portrays the 'exchange of glances, the sight of the beauty of the other, then the exchange of words and messages, the arms that hold and enclose, the lips that touch, the coming together in a kiss'.[136] He then continues to describe, in greater detail than in many poems of profane love, the pleasures of the consummation of erotic desire. He leads the nuns to the 'little flowered bed' and bids them imagine the 'mysteries of the marital bed':

> Admitted to the interior, the fiancée comes close to the secret of divine wisdom, she comes all the purer in that she is naked, divested of earthly garments and bodily appearances, to join herself in bed with uncorrupted truth. The soul, in all joy, serves him she cherishes all the more closely in that she does not hide her nudity from the nudity of his innocence.[137]

This extremely sensual language is employed to convey a spiritual message concerning the abandonment of oneself to the embrace of Christ, and demonstrates the way in which the Song of Songs enabled authors, composers and preachers to translate the profane into the sacred through the transposition of erotic imagery into allegorical teaching.

In addition to the influence which it exerted on sermon literature, the Song of Songs provided inspiration within numerous other genres which similarly utilised the multi-tiered code of love. An example of such a work is the *Cantiques Salemon*, an anonymous Old French adaptation of the first three chapters of the Song of Songs, which allegorises the mystical marriage of Christ and the human soul.[138] The *Cantiques*, like the *Ludus*, is interleaved with lyric insertions, many of which are *contrafacta* of trouvère chansons. Amongst these are numerous illustrations of the points of allegory which enable the author to draw parallels between the biblical text and the vernacular love lyric. An example of this compositional method occurs in the song *Li amoureus m'ont doucement requize*.[139] In its original context, it takes the form of a woman's lament over the loss of her beloved, whereas in the *Cantiques*, incorporated into the development of Song of Songs 1:12, it is transformed into the lament of the soul over the death of Christ.[140] In an expansion of this motif, the image of a woman searching for her beloved, common to the

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[136] Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century*, iii. 60.
[137] See ibid.
[138] It is preserved in a single manuscript dating from circa 1300, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. fr. 14966. The text is discussed in Tony Hunt, 'The *Song of Songs* and Courtly Literature' in Glyn S. Burgess (ed.) *Court and Poet: Selected Proceedings of the Third Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Liverpool 1980)* (Liverpool, 1981), 189-96; see also Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 75-7.
[139] R 1640.
[140] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 75.

repertories of the *chanson pieuse* and the motet, becomes the soul's search for Christ, the central theme of the *Ludus*. This theme is explored in the *Cantiques* using the metaphor of entering a forest. With its many amorous associations derived from the encounters of Robin and Marion in the pastourelle genre, this arboreal image becomes a metaphor for 'mystical union with God':[141]

> Je gars le bos que nul ne port
> Flourette ne verdure.
> Et si gars le raimme
> Que nus n'emporte
> Pour nul deport
> Chapel de fleurs s'il s'aimme.
>
> (I guard the forest so that no one may carry off the flower or greenery. And thus I guard the thicket, lest anyone who does not love carry off a garland of flowers for entertainment.)[142]

As seen in relation to the motet on *FLOS FILIUS EIUS*, the motifs of entering a garden and picking a flower have clear erotic connotations and yet it is this amorous imagery which allows it to be dovetailed so seamlessly with the sensuality of the Song of Songs and employed as an allegorical re-enactment of the soul's search for, and reunion with, God. During the period of the *Ludus*' composition, it is evident that many works, both sacred and profane, were profoundly influenced by the Song of Songs and its inherent allegorical and parodic potential which allowed authors to fuse different registers, styles and repertories. The many-layered allegorical readings which characterise these works are made possible due to the shared iconography of the sacred and the profane.[143] This delight in combining languages and literary codes evident throughout the motet corpus, as well as preaching and sermon literature and the secular vernacular lyric, exerted a significant influence upon the *Ludus* and enables a reading of its narrative in which both sacred and profane insertions are interpreted within the framework of its enclosing religious allegory.

VII: The Spirit of Love: Concord's Motet

The two strands of the sacred and the profane which run throughout the *Ludus* are united in the motet attributed to Concord and, as such, this insertion serves as a microcosmic representation of many of the principles operating within the *Ludus*.[144] The tenor of Concord's motet, *AMORIS*, drawn from an alleluia for Pentecost week: *Alleluia.*

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[141] Ibid., 77.
[142] Fol. 44v; trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 77.
[143] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 61.
[144] No. 135, *O quam solemnis legatio*, based on the motet *Et quant iou remir son cors le gai / AMORIS.*

Veni sancte spiritus,[145] identifies the Holy Spirit as the 'essence of divine love',[146] a theme echoed in a homily of Gregory I:

> Hodie namque Spiritus sanctus repentino sonitu super discipulos venit, mentesque carnalium in sui amorem permutavit, et foris apparentibus linguis igneis, intus facta sunt corda flammantia, quia dum Deum in ignis visione suscipiunt, per amorem suavitur arserunt. Ipse namque Spiritus sanctus amor est.[147]

Combined with this tenor, Adam's newly-composed text for the upper voice, whose melody is secular in origin, speaks of the Holy Spirit as the emissary between the Godhead and mankind, emphasising its mediatory function:

> O quam solemnis legatio
> Qua tuum Deus Filium
> Unigenitum
> Transmisisti Spiritum
> Spirantem Paraclitum.
> Cujus radio pio
> Nos cum Filio visita,
> Lucis vita mundum illuminans,
> Ac seminans vim amoris.
>
> (O how solemn is the delegation
> By which, O God, you sent
> Your only-begotten Son
> Who breathes the Holy Spirit;
> By whose holy ray
> Visit us with the Son,
> The life of light, lighting up the world,
> And sowing the power of love.)

This alludes directly to Concord's role in the narrative and encapsulates the central premise of the *Ludus*, the union of the body and soul representing that of the earthly and the divine in the person of Christ.[148] Through its liturgical associations, the motet tenor recalls the liturgy for Pentecost, much of which is derived from the Gospel of John 14-16. In these chapters, Jesus addresses his disciples and talks of a multi-faceted love that functions simultaneously on several levels: uniting the persons of the Trinity, reconciling God and

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[145] See above, page 207, note 82, for details of this alleluia, its full text and a translation.
[146] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 139.
[147] Gregory I, *XL Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo*, XXX, in *PL*, lxxvi. 1220: 'For today the Holy Spirit with a sudden noise came upon the disciples, and turned their minds from fleshly to holy love, and as it appeared outwardly as fiery tongues, within their hearts were flaming: for while they received God through the vision of fire, they were deliciously consumed with love. For this Holy Spirit is itself love', trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 139.
[148] The use of Concord to unite body and soul (unlike in Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia*, where the role is given to Nature) emphasises that the Perfect Man has a figural relationship to Christ, the Incarnate Son of God.

humanity, and unifying the community of the faithful. All these relationships are manifestations of the same love in which each serves as a reflection of the next:[149]

> As the Father hath loved Me, I also have loved you. If you keep My commandments, you shall abide in My love; as I also have kept my Father's commandments, and do abide in His love. This is My commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you.[150]

This theme is echoed in the writing of Bernard of Clairvaux:

> God, [Bernard] says, lives by a law - the law of love; the law of love which holds together the Three Persons binding them in the bond of peace. This love, which is God himself, reaches down to draw all mankind to union with himself. It is God's gift to us making us like him, and it stamps our souls not only with a desire for him but with his desire for us.[151]

Thus, humanity and divinity are united through love. Earthly and heavenly love are inseparably linked, with one functioning as an expression of the other. The relationship between the two is 'realised corporeally in the body of Christ - the absent bridegroom, soon to return - and spiritually in the Paraclete, the spirit of divine love that enlightens and comforts the hearts of the faithful'.[152]

Within his allegorical narrative, which expounds the redemptive love of God for humanity and portrays the ascension of the soul to achieve an ecstatic union with its Creator, Adam's musical interpolations depict many dimensions of love in both its sacred and profane guises. Utilising methods of compilation found in the motet corpus, vernacular lyrics and sermon literature, Adam juxtaposes the sacred and the profane, exploiting the common iconography of love, in order to emphasise and enact the dominant themes of his work. As has been seen, medieval thought held love to be the basis for all human experience and behaviour.[153] Within this context, human erotic love, however corrupt or inappropriate, is still to be viewed as a reflection of the divine love which forms the foundation of all life. Despite sharing a common language which enables these different forms of love to be allegorised, there is no doubt that, for medieval philosophers and thinkers, there was a clear hierarchical relationship:

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[149] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 138.
[150] John 15: 9-10, 12.
[151] See Diemer, *Love Without Measure*, 1.
[152] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 138.
[153] Ibid., 191.

> Quid similius et quid dissimulus? Affectus sunt, amores sunt; immunditia spiritus nostri defluens inferius amore curarum, et sanctitas Spiritus tui attolens nos superius amore securitatis, ut sursam corda habeamus ad te.[154]

Adam portrays these various degrees of love through his *contrafacta* which range from the rustic, earthy love of the pastourelle to the pure, spiritual love of mankind for God as expressed in many of the liturgical items. His profane insertions are recast into a sacred context and invested with a theological meaning which contrasts the destructive effects of *cupiditas* with the salvific quality of *caritas*. Thus, Adam presents his readers with a spiritual journey, echoing the teaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, from the most basic type of love, that of the egocentric love of Man for himself, to the highest kind, the selfless love of humanity for God. Within this framework, he demonstrates through his insertions the way in which a base form of love may be subject to a moral conversion, and be transformed into love in its perfect, redemptive form.[155] The interpretation of love provides the key to understanding the *Ludus* and unlocking its central message; it is love that lies at the heart of Adam's allegorical narrative, reflecting the love which unites God and mankind, soul and body, and binds the music inextricably to the text.

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[154] Saint Augustine, *Confessions* 13.7.8, in *Confessionum Libri III*, ed. Joseph Capello (Turin, 1948): 'What is more similar and what dissimilar? Both are affectations, both are loves; the uncleanness of our spirit flowing down with a love of worldly cares, and the sanctity of your Spirit raising us up with a secure love, that we may lift up our hearts unto you', trans. Huot, in *Allegorical Play*, 191.
[155] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, 50.

Chapter Five
The *Ludus* and its Sacred Insertions: A Model for Salvation

> Hinc ergo pensemus quale sit pro nobis hoc sacrificium, quod pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti Filii semper imitatur. Quis enim fidelium habere dubium possit, in ipse immolationis hora ad sacerdotis vocem cœlos aperisi, in illo Jesu Christi mysterio angelorum sociari, terrene cœlestibus jungi, unumque ex visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri?[1]

In this passage from his *Dialogues*, Gregory I articulates a widely-held medieval view that at the climax of the celebration of Mass – the transubstantiation of the bread and the wine – heaven and earth were united in a moment of re-enactment in which Christ's sacrifice was rendered present in all its redemptive glory. Indeed, many believed that the liturgy was scattered with such 'salvific' moments, each possessing the power of the original event which they commemorate.[2] With its recurring patterns of prayer and chant and its interlocking cycles of feasts and festivals, the liturgy was seen to recreate the life, death and resurrection of Christ and, by so doing, to renew the 'whole plan of redemption'[3] for those who participated in its ceremonies. Due to this wealth of theological and scriptural resonance, which could be recalled through the citation of a melody, gesture or phrase, the liturgy and its music were employed by numerous poets and authors as a means of embellishing, structuring and shaping both sacred and secular works, exploiting its wider background of reference.[4] For Adam, with his intimate and detailed knowledge of the liturgy, it was natural that he should turn to this repertory which resonates with the religious themes of his narrative. As will be explored throughout this chapter, the *Ludus* is profoundly influenced by a liturgical habit of thought, utilising not only chant but liturgical structures, cycles, rituals and movement. Through these widespread liturgical references, Adam imbues his work with multiple layers of meaning through which he could instruct and edify his readers, in order to guide them along the path to salvation.

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[1] 'Let us meditate what manner of sacrifice this is, ordained for us, which for our absolution doth always represent the passion of the only Son of God: for what right believing Christian can doubt that in the very hour of the sacrifice, at the words of the Priest, the heavens be opened, and the quires of Angels are present in that mystery of Jesus Christ; that high things are accomplished with low, and earthly joined to heavenly, and that one thing is made of visible and invisible', Gregory I, *Dialogue IV*, cap. lviii, in *PL*, lxxvii. 425-8. Translation from *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory, surnamed the Great .... Translated by P.W.*, ed. Edmund G. Gardner (London, 1911), 256; quoted in Osborne B. Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore, 1965), 36.

[2] See Honorius of Autun, *Gemma Animae*, in *PL*, clxxii. 541-738; Amalarius of Metz, *Eclogae de Officio Missae*, in *PL*, cv. 1315-32.

[3] Teresa C. Goode, *Gonzalo de Berceo, El Sacrificio de la Misa: A Study of its Symbolism and of its Sources* (New York, 1970), 64-5.

[4] Susan Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 203-43, at 211.

I: Liturgy and Ritual in Vernacular Literature

I wish to begin this examination of the sacred musical insertions used in the *Ludus* by considering the various ways in which the liturgy has been employed in vernacular, secular literature, in order to ascertain how it functions within a new non-ecclesiastical context.[5] As Evelyn Birge Vitz explains in her article on the liturgy and vernacular literature,[6] the liturgy of the Christian Church 'resonates in many and complex ways in the vernacular literature of the western Middle Ages'.[7] This relationship is manifested in countless different ways and assumes a variety of forms, each of which exploits a particular aspect of the vast liturgical repertory. Constituting a rich resource, the liturgy is cited directly, evoked, translated, imitated, allegorised and parodied throughout a wide range of texts and genres. Liturgical themes may be explored, ritual actions represented, vestments portrayed, and music and chant evoked.[8] In a number of works, it is the interconnecting cycles of the liturgical day and year, with their ordering of feasts, which are employed in order to anchor the narrative in a particular timeframe and to provide a panorama which extends into eternity.[9] The scale of the liturgy, stretching back to the dawning of the Christian Church and forward into perpetuity, enabled authors to contemplate matters beyond the mundane nature of everyday existence,[10] and to instil into their works a sense of the divine.[11]

A number of early French works (from the late eleventh-century onwards) are religious in their tone or content and utilise aspects of the liturgy within their narrative.[12] Religious themes are prominent in genres such as the *chansons de geste* (sung epics recounting the adventures of heroes) with the frequent inclusion of prayers, liturgical references and even enactments of liturgical rituals.[13] Due to these recurring allusions to elements of the liturgy, Birge Vitz suggests that a number of these works may have been

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[5] Whilst the *Ludus* was written in Latin and not the vernacular, it falls into the category of lyric-interpolated narratives and exhibits many characteristics of the secular *roman*, the vast majority of which are in the vernacular, rendering this comparison informative.
[6] Evelyn Birge Vitz, 'The Liturgy and Vernacular Literature', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, 2001), 551-618.
[7] Ibid., 551.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] We have already seen in the previous chapter that numerous motets and trouvère lyrics, as well as romances, are often set in springtime with its associated resonances of the festival of Easter.
[12] Birge Vitz, 'Liturgy and Vernacular Literature', 560.
[13] Ibid.

performed along pilgrimage routes or at the shrines of saints.[14] This theory is significant for our understanding of the use of liturgical music in the *Ludus* as it implies that these liturgical citations maintained their spiritual efficacy, even in a new setting and, as such, were fit to be used in veneration of saints.[15] A considerable number of *chansons de geste* and other related works open with prayer, such as the twelfth-century *Le Charroi de Nîmes* which begins 'Oiez, seignor, Deus vos croisse bonté / Li glorieux, li rois de majesté'.[16] Similarly, several epics employ liturgical formulas at their close; an example occurs in the Occitan *Chanson de Girart de Roussillon* which concludes with 'Tu autem Domine',[17] a phrase derived from the closing formula of Matins, indicating, perhaps, that the author wished to associate his 'pious song' with the liturgy or suggest that it was 'prayerful in some "official" sense'.[18] These familiar liturgical phrases function as a reminder to the audience to contemplate what they have read or heard and to reflect upon the lessons of the characters and narrative, as one might do following a sermon.

As well as prayers from the poet, author or *jongleur*, French epics often contain prayers or creeds which are recited by their characters. Frequently articulated by the hero just before fighting or as he lies dying upon the battlefield, these creeds, whilst not the official creed of the Christian liturgy, offer a declaration of faith along with a brief summary of biblical miracles of salvation.[19] Through such passages, these works instruct their readers, providing them with an outline of the central tenets of the Christian faith. Common to numerous works which cite or otherwise allude to the liturgy is this element of didacticism, with authors expressing a desire to explain doctrines of Christian theology to the laity, exhorting them to live according to the teachings of Christ.[20] Within the corpus of vernacular, secular literature, the use of the liturgy serves a fundamental purpose. For medieval men and women, it was the liturgy, with its associated ritual, music and texts, which instructed them about their faith and, indeed, about themselves and the world in

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[14] Ibid.
[15] We will revisit this idea later in the chapter.
[16] 'Listen, lords, may God, the glorious king of majesty, increase your virtuous prowess', *Le Charroi de Nîmes: Chanson de Geste du XIIe Siècle*, ed. Joseph L. Perrier (Paris, 1968), lines 1-2, translation by Birge Vitz, in 'Liturgy and Vernacular Literature', 560.
[17] 'But you, Lord', *La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon*, ed. Micheline de Combarieu du Grès and Gérard Gouirvan (Paris, 1993), line 10,001, trans. Birge Vitz, in 'Liturgy and Vernacular Literature', 561.
[18] Birge Vitz, 'Liturgy and Vernacular Literature', 561.
[19] Ibid., 562; Birge Vitz cites an example of such a creed from the twelfth-century *Le Couronnement de Louis* which contains references to the Creation, the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, alongside mention of Noah and the ark, the massacre of the innocents, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, before concluding with a prayer for God's protection: see *Guillaume d'Orange: Four Twelfth-Century Epics*, ed. Joan M. Ferrante (New York, 1974), 83-5, lines 695-789.
[20] Birge Vitz, 'Liturgy and Vernacular Literature', 555.

which they lived. The liturgy was 'at the affective religious core of medieval people .... the words, the music, the gestures, and the theological meaning of the liturgy were at the very heart of their experience of the religious life and their knowledge of God'.[21]

II: The Liturgy and Lyric Interpolation

Perhaps the most striking way in which authors could allude to the liturgy is through the citation of its music. Turning now to the repertory of lyric-interpolated *romans*, we find that the *Ludus* is one of only a handful of works which include musical items derived from the liturgy among their insertions. Aside from *Fauvel*, which makes extensive use of numerous examples of chant and pseudo-chant, the only other works in this tradition to employ liturgical citations are the anonymous *Court de Paradis* and *Le Renart le Nouvel* by Jacquemars Gielée. Interestingly, both of these works cite the *Te Deum* but use it to quite different effect. The *Court de Paradis*, as discussed in the previous chapter, tells of a carol set in heaven in which the various guests (martyrs, virgins, prophets etc.) take turns in singing secular refrains on the theme of love. The only characters to deviate from this pattern are the angels, the first to arrive, who commence by singing the *Te Deum*, at once both announcing themselves as 'heavenly' characters and setting a liturgical context within which this gentle parody can unfold. In *Renart*, the satire assumes a much harsher tone. Focussing upon the enmity between Renart the Fox and Noble the Lion, *Renart* ends with 'the ceremonial entry of Noble's court into Renart's castle',[22] into which is inserted two-thirds of the work's total refrains. At the end of this final scene, when all the animals are assembled, the 'entire scurrilous group' join in singing the *Te Deum*. In a complete contrast to the angels in the *Court de Paradis*, the 'appropriation of a sacred hymn by the forces of vice suggest that worldly success is blessed by corrupt churchmen'.[23]

Undoubtedly, the most complex and sophisticated use of liturgical music occurs within *Fauvel*. Numerous liturgical items are used throughout the work to map several timeframes onto the narrative and this will be explored below with reference to a similar

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[21] Ibid., 617.
[22] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002), 140.
[23] Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia, 1993), 108. In several manuscripts, *Renart* also contains a liturgical piece in Latin entitled 'Asperges', v. 5304, plus an incipit of *Veni Creator*, v. 5291.

practice in the *Ludus*.[24] In addition, liturgical items are employed to characterise various personages within the narrative, signalling that they are 'good' characters.[25] Accordingly, chant is placed into the mouths of the Virtues and the angels and is also sometimes used by Fortune.[26] An example of this musical characterisation occurs on fol. 37r. Following the wedding of Fauvel and Vain Glory, a tournament is held between the Virtues and Vices. On the morning of the tournament, the narrator describes that, above the *hotel* where the Virtues are staying, he sees two ladders reaching up to heaven, upon which angels and archangels descend and ascend: 'Par la venoient et aloient / Ce m'est vis, anges et archanges ... / Je croi que conforter venoient / Les dames et puis s'en aloient'.[27] Directly after this are inserted two liturgical pieces, the responsory *Filie Iherusalem*,[28] and the antiphon *Estote fortes in bello*,[29] which act as songs of encouragement from the angels to the Virtues as they prepare themselves for the tournament. Laden with scriptural associations, these pieces provide a fitting musical voice for the angels and serve to underline that the Virtues, to whom these songs are addressed, fight for good. Similarly, on the eve of the tournament, the Virtues sing a series of six 'chant' pieces (Pmus. 83-88, fol. 33v) through which they request the protection of God and the Virgin Mary, before retiring to bed.[30] The following morning, a further block of 'chant' is inserted into the narrative (Pmus. 91-110), consisting of pieces which are either drawn from the liturgy or composed in a liturgical style. These items comprise a mixture of responsories and antiphons in a passage which evokes the liturgical Offices, especially Matins.[31] As well as serving to introduce specific religious themes, the compilers of *Fauvel* employ these liturgical

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[24] The index of *Fauvel* classifies fifty-three of its interpolations as liturgical chant, of which only twenty can be traced to actual pre-existing chants, the remainder being either chant-based or not chant at all, but settings of Scripture and related texts. Despite their lack of clear liturgical associations, it is apparent that these pseudo-chants are created in order to look and sound like real chant and are used as such throughout the narrative.

[25] We have seen in Chapter 3 that Adam employs a similar method of musical characterisation in the *Ludus* in which chant and *unica* are used to venerate the majority of saints in the first section and, in the second section, particularly 'Christian' Virtues are distinguished through the attribution of liturgical items: see Chapter 3, 164-9.

[26] Other than one Alleluia at the end of Book I (Pmus. 31), all the other chant and chant-like pieces are inserted into Book II, in which the musical insertions take on the role of speech.

[27] vv. 830-1, 837-8, 'Coming and going that way, I think, were angels and archangels ... I believe they were coming to comfort the ladies and then departing', translation by Peter Rickard, in Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 232.

[28] 'Daughters of Jerusalem, be not afraid'; Pmus. 91.

[29] 'Be strong in battle and fight with the ancient serpent'; Pmus. 92.

[30] Two of these pieces, *In hac valle* (Pmus. 85) and *Familiam custody* (Pmus. 87) are classified by the indexer as 'proses and lays' but both belong to the Parisian repertory of liturgical chant: see Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 232.

[31] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 234.

citations as a 'narrative tool, with the Virtues singing a kind of Vespers before going to bed and a kind of Matins when they get up in the morning'.[32]

Throughout *Fauvel*, the liturgical insertions are deployed to great effect in order to reinforce the predominant theme of the work – the battle between the forces of good and evil. Used variously as a narrative device, as indicators of time and place, and as a means of characterisation and speech, the abundance of theological and liturgical associations connected with these insertions adds further subtexts to the central narrative. Clearly, one of the key motivations for using this material was the authority which it embodies. Derived from the ancient liturgy of the Church (or else composed in direct imitation of it) the chant and pseudo-chant is imbued with centuries of legitimacy which, when cited within a work, adds substance to the narrative discourse in much the same way as sermon-writers would season their texts with biblical citations, permeating their own words with the Word of God. This is especially true of its employment by *Fauvel*'s author-narrator, who is thus provided with the authority and status he requires in order to stand in judgement over Fauvel, ascribing legitimacy to his comments. In a work based upon a central character who embodies evil, the music of the Church becomes a voice for good and stands in direct opposition to Fauvel and his sinful schemes.

III: Liturgical Drama and the Drama of the Liturgy

Of course, the repertories of vernacular literature and lyric-interpolated *romans* were not the only ones to employ the words, music, themes and actions of the liturgy. Perhaps the earliest use of liturgical elements outside of the liturgy itself is found in the corpus of the liturgical drama. Closely related to the liturgy, these 'plays' 'combined words and music in a ritualistic and communal form',[33] designed to communicate the specific themes and teachings of a particular feast day.[34] For a monastic or collegiate community, which both watched and participated in these dramas, the words, music and gestures would have been instantly recognisable, reminding them of biblical stories and characters made

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Thomas P. Campbell, 'Liturgical Drama and Communal Discourse', in Heffernan and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 619-44, at 619.

[34] Wyndham Thomas discusses the educative nature of such dramas with reference to the Fleury Playbook (Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 201). Considering the Playbook as a whole, he proposes that the cycle of dramas was designed to function (either for public performance or for private devotion) in the manner of sermons, bringing 'to life the readings of the great feasts of Christmas and Easter or the vitae of the Saints': see Wyndham Thomas (ed.), *Fleury Playbook III: Plays of Conversion and Rebirth: Peregrinus; The Conversion of St Paul; The Raising of Lazarus* (Newton Abbot, 2005), ii.

familiar by their daily devotions. Thomas P. Campbell explains that liturgical drama originated from within the monasteries where they would have been performed as part of the liturgical cycle.[35] Indeed, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was the custom of Benedictine monastic communities to write liturgical plays in order to expand the liturgy for the solemn celebration of special feasts.[36]

The liturgical drama developed out of the 'Quem queritis / vidistis' dialogues used in the liturgies of Easter and Christmas Day.[37] These dialogues were subsequently enlarged with the addition of 'prefatory and concluding sentences', predominantly drawn from well-known antiphons,[38] creating dramatised ceremonies compiled from pre-existing chants and hymns that are barely 'distinguishable from the liturgy itself'.[39] In addition to its music, liturgical dramas made use of numerous other components of the liturgy. The language of the plays frequently copied or evoked that used for specific services and, from the rubrics which accompany some dramas, we learn that monastic or clerical robes were often employed to provide rudimentary 'costumes', whilst items of liturgical furniture such as candelabra or sepulchres were used to dramatic effect.[40] However, despite its various connections and interrelationships with the liturgy, liturgical dramas are not liturgy, but

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[35] Campbell, 'Liturgical Drama', 619. Many liturgical dramas were designed to take place as part of the liturgical services and this is confirmed by a number of works which conclude with a liturgical incipit, suggesting that they were followed directly by a particular service. See, for example, the *Ordo ad Representandum Herodem*, the *Interfectio Puerorum* and the *Visitatio Sepulcri*, dramas of the Fleury Playbook, each of which concludes with the incipit of the *Te Deum* (the chant with which Matins ends) implying that they were originally intended to be performed at the end of this service. For more information, see Wyndham Thomas, Introduction to *Fleury Playbook II: Plays for Christmas and Easter: The Play of Herod; The Massacre of the Innocents; The Visit to the Sepulchre* (Newton Abbot, 2001), iii.

[36] Thomas P. Campbell, Introduction to *The Fleury Playbook: Essays and Studies* ed. Thomas P. Campbell and Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1985), xiii.

[37] At Easter, the 'Quem queritis in sepulcro' dialogue takes place between '*Christicole* (worshippers of Christ) and *celicole* (dwellers in heaven)', most commonly realised as the three Marys visiting the tomb and the angels in the tomb, whilst at Christmas the 'Quem vidistis pastores' dialogue occurs between the shepherds seeking the Christ-child and the (non-scriptural) midwives: John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050 – 1350* (Cambridge, 1986), 330.

[38] Stevens, *Words and Music*, 331.

[39] Ibid., 334.

[40] In his discussion of the liturgical drama, John Stevens cites an interesting example of a 'dramatic procession' used in Padua in celebration of the Annunciation which, despite being performed after dinner, outside of a strictly 'liturgical' setting, exhibits close ties with the liturgy. This is emphasised by the fact that the two manuscripts in which it is preserved are both Processionals from the cathedral church (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MSS C55 and C56). The characters who appear in the drama (Mary, Elizabeth, Joseph, Joachim and Gabriel) are the focus of the Gospel reading for that day (Luke 1:26-38) and they communicate via the speeches of the Gospel narrative. Likewise, the songs which are incorporated into the drama belong in the main to the liturgical repertory of the church (see, for example, the antiphons *Ave Maria* and *Ecce ancilla* (*CAO*, nos. 1539 and 2491), both of which are still sung at Second Vespers on the feast of the Annunciation), and the 'costumes' specified in the rubrics consist of liturgical vestments: see Stevens, *Words and Music*, 310. The Latin text of this procession is printed in Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), ii. 248-50 and the music is edited by Giuseppe Vecchi, *Uffici Drammatici Padovani* (Florence, 1954), 66-75.

rather are dramatisations.[41] The original scriptural stories upon which the dramas are based undergo 'a process which might be called dramatic *realisation* ... to which the key is symbolic'.[42] Symbolism occurs on many levels – spiritual events, such as the descent of the Holy Spirit or the Annunciation, are translated into 'images that every eye can see',[43] and combined with a symbolic use of space (different parts of the church 'become' specific locations), time and action. Liturgy and drama thus enter into a symbiotic relationship: the liturgy is ornamented and elevated through liturgical drama, which amplifies its celebration and intensifies its ritual, and yet these dramas are reliant for their meaning and context upon the liturgy from which they derive many of their texts, melodies, themes and structures. Unlike secular drama, the liturgical drama is 'animated by the spirit of the liturgy'[44] which imparts an element of the divine to its ceremonies.

Undoubtedly, the greatest and most imaginative 'drama' of the Middle Ages is that of the liturgy itself. Thus Honorius of Autun, in his *Gemma Animae* of *c.* 1100, 'describes the Mass as a drama analogous to ancient tragedy':[45]

> Sic tragicus noster pugnam Christi populo Christiano in theatro Ecclesiae gestibus suis repraesentat, eique victoriam redemptionis sue inculcat. Itaque cum presbyter *Orate* dicit, Christum pro nobis in agonia positum exprimit, cum apostolos orare monuit. Per secretum silentium, significat Christum velut agnum sine voce ad victimam ductum. Per manuum expansionem, designat Christi in cruce extensionem. Per cantum praefationis, exprimit clamorem Christi in cruce pendentis.[46]

Within the 'ritualised public celebration of the Christian faith',[47] certain parts of the liturgy, particularly those which accompany major feasts such as Christmas and Easter, exhibit a 'richly dramatic nature'.[48] Among these, some of the most striking are the ceremonies of Holy Week. At St Pierre in Lille, the period leading up to Easter was celebrated with various elaborate ceremonies and ritual acts through which the community

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[41] Stevens, *Words and Music*, 310.
[42] Ibid., 311.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 313.
[45] Ibid., 316.
[46] 'Thus our tragic actor [the celebrant] represents by his gestures in the theatre of the Church before the Christian people the struggle of Christ and teaches them the victory of his redemption. Thus when the celebrant [*presbyter*] says the *Orate* [*fratres*] he expresses Christ placed for us in agony, when he commanded his disciples to pray. By the silence of the *Secreta* he expresses Christ as a lamb without voice being led to the sacrifice. By the spreading out of his hands he represents the extension of Christ on the Cross. By the chant of the Preface he expresses the cry of Christ hanging on the Cross', Honorius of Autun, *Gemma Animae*, in *PL*, clxxii. 570; translation by Stevens, in *Words and Music*, 316, after Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 39.
[47] Thomas J. Heffernan, Introduction to Heffernan and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 1.
[48] Stevens, *Words and Music*, 318.

commemorated particular events which occurred towards the end of Christ's earthly life. Throughout the Lenten period (remembering Christ's forty days in the wilderness)[49] the cross and relics were covered and a large veil, extending to the entrance of the sanctuary, concealed the view of the altar. This veil played a dramatic role in the ritual of Holy Wednesday. As the choir sang the following words, 'Velum temple scissum est' (the veil in the temple is torn),[50] the veil was raised rapidly and removed,[51] symbolising the destruction of the boundary between God and mankind, achieved through the death and resurrection of Christ. In a very real sense, the worshipping community at St Pierre was reunited with the altar – symbol of Christ – and the cross which bore him, as well as regaining access to the place where they would partake of the Eucharist, thereby sharing in Christ's sacrifice.

In contrast with the sombre mood of Lent, Palm Sunday was an occasion of joy, celebrated with a great procession involving all the clergy, as well as the distribution of Palm branches.[52] After the office of Prime, the clergy of St Pierre would gather together and march in procession to the church of St Andre, situated outside the city walls, where a station was made, the Gospel sung (from Matt. 21:1-9) and a sermon given. The palm branches were blessed and distributed, before the procession set off once more. At the gate of the city, a group of clergy took up their position inside the city wall and sang the hymn *Gloria, laus et honor*.[53] When the hymn was finished, the response *Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem* was intoned by a young cleric,[54] the doors were opened and the procession returned to the church, symbolising Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. On the last three days of Holy Week, known as 'Tenebrae' (lit. shadows), twenty-seven candles were lit on the harrow. After each psalm and lesson of Matins, and each psalm of Lauds, a candle was extinguished, so that the last one was put out as the clergy began the *Benedictus*.[55] This vivid visual symbolism served to represent the darkness caused by the

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[49] See Matt. 4: 1-11.
[50] 'And behold the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top even to the bottom, and the earth quaked, and the rocks were rent': Matt. 27:51; see also Mark 15:38 and Luke 23:45.
[51] Édouard Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'Église Collégiale et du Chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 3 vols. (Lille, 1896-9), i. 419.
[52] This will be discussed in more detail below.
[53] 'All glory, laud and honour be to thee, Christ, redeemer, king, to whom the lips of children their glad hosannas sing', *CAO*, no. 8310.
[54] 'The Lord is come into his Holy City', *CAO*, no. 6961.
[55] Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 420.

death of Jesus, the Light of the world,[56] and would have encouraged a mood of solemnity and awe among the community in preparation for Good Friday.

The liturgy of Maundy Thursday encompassed several ritual actions throughout the day which emphasised the prevailing theme of repentance. After Sext, the canons processed to the Chapter House for instruction, upon which two priests, dressed in the habit of the choir, washed the feet of the poor. Later that day, the canons returned to the Chapter House whereupon two priests washed the feet of the clergy, beginning with those of highest rank. The clergy's feet were dried with a linen cloth, then with the priests' hair and were finally kissed.[57] This act of humility, which recalls the Gospel account of the penitent sinner washing the feet of Christ (Luke 7:36-50),[58] would have demonstrated the power of repentance, serving as a timely reminder of the possibility of complete forgiveness. On Good Friday, the Adoration of the Cross took place, commemorating Christ's crucifixion. During this ceremony, a veiled cross bearing the image of the crucified Christ was brought to the altar. As the antiphon *Ecce lignum cruces* was sung,[59] the priest would partially uncover the sacred emblem before it was raised and presented to the congregation. Finally, the cross was completely unveiled and offered to the clergy who would genuflect before it and kiss the feet of Christ in an act of adoration.[60]

These ceremonies reached their climax on Easter Day, the most significant feast of the entire Christian Calendar, which was celebrated with all due pomp and ceremony. At the core of these rituals was the *Elevatio Crucis*, the taking up of the Host that had been 'buried' in the sepulchre on Good Friday. Occurring early on Easter morning before Matins, this 'drama' is a symbolic re-enactment of Christ's resurrection which would undoubtedly have been celebrated with great joy as the canons greeted again their risen saviour. Evidence exists that at least two liturgical dramas were incorporated into the liturgy for Eastertide at St Pierre. A thirteenth-century Ordinal[61] from the *collégiale* specifies that, on Easter day, at the end of Matins, the choir would return to the sepulchre where several of the clergy would re-enact the visit to the empty tomb of the three Marys,

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[56] See John 8:12, 'Again therefore, Jesus spoke to them, saying: I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life'.
[57] Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 420-1.
[58] During the Middle Ages, this penitent sinner was believed to be Mary Magdalene, even though Luke does not specify this. See Chapter 3, 127, note 132 for more details.
[59] 'Behold the wood of the cross', *CAO*, no. 2522.
[60] Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 423.
[61] Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564. From their appearance in the midst of this liturgical manuscript, it is evident that these dramas formed an integral part of the Office.

to whom the angel announced the joyous news of the resurrection.[62] Easter Monday saw the performance of another drama, a representation of the appearance of Jesus to his disciples on the road to Emmaus, performed during Vespers.[63] For the canons who participated in these dramatic retellings of these Gospel accounts, and for those who watched, these dramas would have re-animated the events at the heart of their faith, rekindling their belief and offering hope and spiritual comfort.

Forming an integral part of the daily liturgy, these various ceremonies fulfilled a three-fold function. One of the primary roles of the medieval liturgy was to instruct the faithful and the Church endeavoured to teach its members about their faith in a number of ways, through 'painted glass and walls, carved stone and wood, ceremony and drama'.[64] The sights, sounds and smells of liturgical ritual communicated their message in an instant and memorable way, reinforcing the lessons of Scripture and sermons. In addition, the ceremonial served to intensify the solemnity of an occasion, instilling a sense of awe into its participants and drawing them into a deeper form of worship. Text, music and gesture combined in an elaborate and mystical ritual able to elevate the mind (and soul) from the familiarity of daily existence to an 'experience of a transcendent awakening'.[65] But, as expressed by Gregory I and Honorius of Autun, at the heart of the liturgy was its ability to facilitate an experience of divine power. For the members of St Pierre who gathered to participate in the liturgy, 'the worship and presence of God' was 'not fictive'.[66] They believed in the efficacy of the music and rituals of their liturgy, and in its power to transform and to assist in achieving a real and meaningful union with God.

In defining the key difference between the ritual of the church and drama (either liturgical or secular), C. Clifford Flanigan states that, whereas dramas are imitations of past actions, rituals seek to 'render past events present'.[67] He continues that, unlike drama,

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[62] 'Tercio responsorio cantata, visitatur sepulchrum', Édouard Hautcœur, *Documents Liturgiques et Nécrologiques de l'Église Collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille* (Lille, 1895), 52; see also Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 425. For a description of an Easter morning *representatio*, see *Regularis Concordia*, ed. and trans. Thomas Symons (New York, 1953), quoted in Glynne W. G. Wickham, 'The Romanesque Style in Medieval Drama', in David Parson (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'* (London, 1975), 115-22, at 119.

[63] 'Post collectam fit representatio peregrinorum', Hautcœur, *Documents*, 55; see also Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 425-6. The text of this drama is borrowed from the account of the Emmaus miracle in Luke 24:13-35.

[64] John Caldwell, 'Relations between Liturgical and Vernacular Music in Medieval England', in Susan Rankin and David Hiley (eds.), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy* (Oxford, 1993), 285-99, at 285.

[65] Heffernan, Introduction to Heffernan and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 6.

[66] Ibid.

[67] C. Clifford Flanigan, 'Traditions of Medieval Latin Drama', in Campbell and Davidson (eds.), *Fleury Playbook*, 1-25, at 3.

where there is a clear division between the audience and the actors, rituals are communal events in which those who preside over the ritual are not actors but, 'for the duration of the cultic action ... are thought to become the divine figures whom they imitate'.[68] Similarly, the congregation believes itself to be a full participant in the spiritual events which occur. Most significantly, the words, music and actions of a ritual are believed to be 'charged with a power of reactualisation'; thus, the event imitated is understood to be 'rendered present in the community's midst and for its welfare'.[69] For its participants, the liturgy is far more than a mere representation of an action: it is a re-creation of that action in all its redemptive power.[70]

From the very beginnings of the Church, Christians gathered together to praise God, to offer their prayers and thanksgivings and to 'relive in a symbolic way the events of Christ's life on earth'.[71] The various liturgical acts of worship that form the daily, weekly and yearly cycles of the Church Calendar enabled the commemoration of the fundamental moments in the history of salvation that lie at the centre of the Christian faith. Key to an understanding of the perceived dynamism of the liturgy is the belief that, by engaging with its ceremonies and rituals, it is possible to enter into the divine mysteries of Christ's life, to share in their redemptive power,[72] and to experience a renewing of salvation.[73] These liturgical elements of words, chant and gesture are seen to possess in themselves the ability to sanctify, transform and redeem and, through the visible realities of earthly rites and rituals, the believer may contemplate the invisible mysteries of the heavenly realm. Serving a dual function, ritual acts look back into salvation history whilst simultaneously fulfilling an eschatological role, stressing the eternal nature of these salvific events.[74] Involvement in ritual thus not only associates the participant in the blessing of Jesus' sacrifice but 'consecrates them for their inheritance in the Messianic kingdom'.[75]

This concept is of vital importance for grasping the significance of the *Ludus*' liturgical insertions. When viewed through this filter, Adam's sacred insertions assume an

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, i. 84-5, 110.
[71] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), 2.
[72] Paul Dietmer, *Love Without Measure: Extracts from the Writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux* (London, 1990), 69.
[73] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 3.
[74] An example of this is seen in the Eucharistic celebration which both evokes the power of the Last Supper and presents a foretaste of that heavenly banquet which is yet to come.
[75] James H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy* (Cambridge, 1949), 6.

additional dimension of meaning. Threaded throughout both sections of his narrative, these items recall the liturgies of which they are a part, evoking not only the relevant feast days with their associated themes and teachings, but the ceremonial gestures which they would have accompanied. These cited ritual actions, which re-enact key moments within God's redemptive plan, enable Adam's work to engage with and draw on the salvific quality of the liturgy, imbuing the narrative with sacral power and offering the opportunity for redemption to those who engage with the work. As we turn now to a detailed exploration of the liturgical items used within the *Ludus*, it will become apparent that Adam has selected items which 'rememorate' the crucial events of Christ's life in order to create within the *Ludus*' pages a model for salvation.[76]

IV: Liturgical Cycles: Mapping Patterns of Sacred Time

For the medieval Christian, the continual cycles of the liturgy and their associated sacramental acts embodied sacred time, which extended along a 'teleological trajectory from Creation through the Incarnation to the Apocalypse'.[77] Throughout the year, with its changing seasons of joy and sorrow, anticipation and celebration, feasting and fasting, were woven festivals which recalled the 'great mystery of God's salvation',[78] temporal events which made possible the mediation of eternal truths.[79] The ever-repeating patterns of the liturgy served to bind the believer into the history of salvation, both forging stronger connections with past events, 'bequeathing … an inheritance from [their] ancestors',[80] and pointing towards their eternal heritage. Within this 'sanctification' of time, each season was marked by its own particular character and, in accordance with medieval methods of scriptural interpretation, could be interpreted allegorical or anagogically.[81] The focus of this allegorical interpretation was that of 'redemption as effected in history' and it centred

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[76] Hardison uses the phrase 'rememorative allegory' to describe Honorius of Autun's interpretation of the Mass, in which each element recreates and renews an aspect of Christ's earthly life and ministry: see *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 44.

[77] See Heffernan, Introduction to Heffernan and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 8.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Stephen Borgehammar, 'A Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year', in Heffernan and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 13-44, at 13.

[80] Ibid.

[81] In his study of the liturgical year and its interpretation, Borgehammar defines these two methods thus: allegorical interpretation refers to phenomenon in the history of redemption, including events in the life of Christ; anagogical interpretation is concerned with eschatological matters, and locating 'foretastes of future beatitude in the present life': 'Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year', 19. These are two of the medieval modes of biblical exegesis, the other two being a literal or historical interpretation and a tropological or moral interpretation; for a detailed study of these four methods of scriptural interpretation, see Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Marc Sebanc and Edward M. Macierowski, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1998-2000).

on the person of Christ Incarnate.[82] As man, Christ was seen to encapsulate the history of humanity, of Israel, of the Church and of the individual believer, whilst as God, he foreshadows that which is to come: a new heaven and a new earth and redemption for his followers.[83] Thus, the progression of the liturgical year, from one season to another, maps out the 'grand procession of the whole of history',[84] culminating in the Second Coming of Christ.

Within this allegorical reading, the seasons of Advent and Christmas, concerned primarily with the theme of preparation for Christ's birth, served to prefigure Christ's final arrival at the end of time. The festival of Christmas, celebration of Christ's nativity, saw the emphasis shift from one of preparation to one of receiving Christ, and his 'birth' in the heart of the believer.[85] The Lenten period, commemorating the forty days which Jesus spent in the desert, fasting and resisting the temptations of the devil, was accordingly interpreted as a time of battle with the forces of evil.[86] Forming the culmination of this season of penitence and struggle is the joyful festival of Easter, with its emphasis upon the resurrection of Christ signalling his victory over the powers of sin, death and hell. Throughout the octave of Easter, this was echoed in the highlighting of the theme of conversion, a transformation from the old life of sin to a new spiritual life united with Christ through his death and resurrection.[87] Ascension Day, which celebrates Christ's return to his Father in heaven, was understood as Christ's preparation of the way there for humanity.[88] As the climax of this season of repentance and conversion, the Ascension encourages the rejection of earthly things and the contemplation of that which is to come. This season is brought to its conclusion by Pentecost, commemoration of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the first disciples, and was interpreted as Christ's continual presence (through his Spirit) with his followers, and the promise of an eternal life to come. The various interlocking cycles of the liturgy, abounding in layers of symbolic interpretation, served both to educate the believer about his faith and to invite him to participate in the unfolding of salvation history.

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[82] Borgehammar, 'Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year', 20.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., 29.
[86] Ibid., 31.
[87] Ibid., 34; see Galatians 2:19-20.
[88] Ibid.

The changing of the seasons at the altar was 'deeply engraved in medieval consciousness'[89] and, for Adam, would have formed the backdrop to his existence. Profoundly entrenched in these annual revolutions, Adam selected items which evoke particular seasons of the Church year which resonate with his narrative and its overriding themes. Adam is not alone in his use of the calendric organisation of the liturgy and so, before examining the various cycles mapped out in the *Ludus*, I wish to consider two other examples of works which similarly utilise the cycles of the liturgy in order to add further layers of meaning. The first of these may be seen in the Fleury Playbook, a collection of ten religious plays set to music. Four of these are St Nicholas plays: 'Tres Filie', 'Tres Clerici', 'Iconia Sancti Nicholai', and 'Filius Getronis',[90] followed by an 'Ordo ad Representandum Herodem',[91] 'Interfectio Puerorum',[92] 'Visitatio Sepulcri',[93] and a 'Peregrinus' play. These plays evidently map out the sequence from the feast day of St Nicholas (Dec 6th), through Christmas (Dec 25th), the feast of the Holy Innocents (Dec 28th), Easter day and the third day of Easter on which, the Gospels report, Jesus appeared to two of his disciples on the road to Emmaus. In contrast, the final two plays, the 'Ad Representandum Conversionem Beati Pauli'[94] and the 'Versus de Resuscitacione Lazari'[95] are 'less clearly located within the Christian year',[96] and an initial examination would suggest that the liturgical cycle evoked through the first eight plays arrives here at an abrupt halt.[97]

However, in the Introduction to the third volume of his edition of the Fleury Playbook, Wyndham Thomas suggests that the 'Visitatio Sepulcri', 'Peregrinus', 'Conversionem Beati Pauli' and 'Versus de Resuscitacione' should be viewed as a 'coherent theological unit' concerned with 'the impact of Christ's resurrection on his disciples'.[98] Due to the prominent position that Mary Magdalene occupies in the

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[89] Hefferman, Introduction to Hefferman and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 8.
[90] The Three Daughters; The Three Clerics; The Image of St Nicholas; The Son of Getron.
[91] The Play of Herod.
[92] The Massacre of the Innocents.
[93] The Visit to the Sepulchre.
[94] The Conversion of St Paul.
[95] The Raising of Lazarus.
[96] Thomas (ed.), Introduction to *Fleury Playbook III*, i.
[97] Efforts have been made to link these final two plays with the feasts of the Conversion of St Paul and the Resurrection of Lazarus (see Campbell and Davidson (eds.), *Fleury Playbook*, xii and endnote 5) but Thomas is unconvinced by these, especially as they undermine the concept of the cyclical nature of the Playbook: see Thomas (ed.), Introduction to *Fleury Playbook III*, i.
[98] Thomas (ed.), Introduction to *Fleury Playbook III*, i. These plays are further united through their joint emphasis upon 'preaching and conversion' and the role played by Mary Magdalene as 'witness to the events of the first Easter and as a penitent supporter at the resurrection of her brother Lazarus'.

'Resuscitacione' (the miracle of Lazarus is preceded by a narration of Jesus' meal at the house of Simon the Pharisee and Mary Magdalene's conversion after washing Christ's feet),[99] Thomas proposes that July 22nd, the feast of St Mary Magdalene, would have been a 'suitable date for the performance of this drama'.[100] As further emphasis for the appropriateness of this date, Thomas highlights the fact that the opening sequence of this play, *Mane prima sabbati*, is among the items specified for the Mass of the Day on St Mary Magdalene's feast day in the early thirteenth-century Customary from Fleury,[101] along with collects and prayers which stress her role as 'an intermediary, particularly in the raising of her brother from the dead'.[102] With regards to the performance of the 'Conversionem', Thomas suggests June 30th, Commemoration of St Paul. Again, liturgical contents confirm its aptness, with references to St Paul's Damascus conversion found in items used for the offices of Lauds and None.[103] If these dates for the final two plays are accepted, together the ten plays form a liturgical cycle in which the 'intersection of the Proper of Time and the Proper of Saints' results in a dramatic account of the key episodes in Christ's life combined with 'human parables' of virtue, repentance, conversion and rebirth.[104] By utilising this cyclic plan, the Fleury redactor creates a guide to salvation, providing teaching on the central doctrines of the Christian faith together with examples of saints who embody devotion and goodness.

A further, although quite different, use of the liturgical calendar occurs in the *Roman de Fauvel*. In her study of the employment of chant in *Fauvel*,[105] Susan Rankin charts the two patterns of liturgical time which, through careful and detailed citation, are incorporated into its narrative structure. The first of these cycles encompasses the week from Pentecost to the feast of Trinity Sunday and is articulated on several levels. Book I concludes with allusions to Pentecost and, in the extended *Fauvel* text, the jousting with which Fauvel's marriage to Vain Glory is celebrated commences upon the day after Pentecost, which suggests that their marriage took place on the feast day.[106] Book II ends with a 'recitation of Christ's death and man's redemption, placed in a Trinitarian

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[99] Luke 7:36-50. See page 233, note 58 above.
[100] Thomas (ed.), Introduction to *Fleury Playbook III*, i.
[101] Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 129.
[102] Thomas (ed.), Introduction to *Fleury Playbook III*, i.
[103] See ibid., ii, for more details.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 203-43.
[106] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235; Arthur Långfors (ed.), *Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus* (Paris, 1914-19), vv. 187-9.

framework'.[107] The textual references to these liturgical feasts are underscored in the music inserted into the narrative, selected to expand the liturgical themes explored in the text. The Pentecostal element is emphasised through the citation of the Pentecost alleluia *V. Veni sancta Spiritus*,[108] which is accompanied on the same folio by a miniature depicting the author praying whilst a dove, representative of the Holy Spirit, hovers above. Similarly, after the narrative conclusion, we find a 'Trinity' page on fol. 43r, which includes the motets *Omnipotens Domine* (*populi pater unice trine*),[109] another motet *Firmissime fidem / Adesto sancta trinitas / Alle. Benedictus es*[110] (this combines the Trinity alleluia (*V. Benedictus*) in the tenor, a Trinity hymn cited in the motetus text, and various numerological plays on the number three),[111] a Trinity miniature, and the text 'Sire Diex, pere esperitable / Tout puissant, sage, veritable / Qui mainz en sainte trinité / en une mesme deité'.[112]

Running concurrently is a second pattern of liturgical time, initiated in the musical insertions, which also ends at the feast of Trinity but this time begins with Advent and Christmas themes introduced before the tournament, through items such as the Advent responsory *Natus est nobis parvulus*.[113] At Fortune's council of Virtues, musical references in the form of *Hic fons, hic devius* (a liturgical blessing derived from the ceremony of the Blessing of Water at the Easter Vigil)[114] evoke the feast of Easter, whilst Fortune's speech borrows Christ's phrase 'Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere',[115] spoken to his disciples after his resurrection.[116] This second cycle then interacts with the first, culminating together on the Trinity page. Rankin concludes that this second liturgical cycle is not to be understood as representative of real time: 'It is not the span of the liturgical year that matters so much as what it represents, what the feasts alluded to through liturgical quotation celebrate: the birth, passion, and resurrection of Christ, completed by the symbol of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the central dogma of Christian theology'.[117] As Rankin explains, the

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[107] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235; Långfors edition, vv. 1662ff.
[108] Pmus. 31, fol. 10r.
[109] 'Omnipotent Lord, father of the people, one [and] three', Pmus. 123; translation by David Howlett, in Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235.
[110] Pmus. 124.
[111] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235.
[112] Långfors edition, vv. 1661-64; 'Lord God, spiritual father almighty, wise and true, who dwellest in Holy Trinity in one godhead', translation by Peter Rickard, in Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235.
[113] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235; Pmus. 109, fol. 39r; *CAO*, no. 7195.
[114] See Rankin, 'Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez', 463 for more detail.
[115] 'Peace be to you, it is I, fear not'.
[116] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 235-6; see Luke 24:36.
[117] Ibid., 238.

deployment of these liturgical cycles and their inherent Christological doctrine provides a key to understanding the purpose of the work. The interpolated version of *Fauvel* 'emerged into a changed political world' in which a new king, Philip V, was about to be crowned.[118] In this context, the teaching on Christian redemption mapped out through the liturgical patterns evoked, combined with a severe allegory 'could have been fittingly directed to the young king'.[119] The cited liturgical items, with their related themes of salvation, tempered the admonition of the narrative with hope,[120] contrasting the evil Fauvel with Christ, saviour and redeemer. For the redactors of both the Fleury Playbook and the interpolated version of *Fauvel*, the progression of the liturgical year and its related symbolic topoi provided a counterpoint to their narratives, drawing out key themes and overlaying new interpretative frameworks.

Turning now to the *Ludus*, we see that these liturgical cycles, overlapping and interlocking, play a crucial role in the semantics of Adam's narrative. Table 5.1 details all of Adam's liturgical insertions, the sources upon which they are based, the feasts on which these items would have been sung and the services in which they were used at St Pierre.[121] An examination of this table reveals a number of different cycles which are mapped out through the liturgical items. The *Ludus*' liturgical insertions are drawn from a variety of festivals encompassing the most significant events in Christ's earthly life as commemorated by the Church Calendar. Two of the items (nos. 69a and 71a) are taken from the Common hymns and therefore cannot be placed at any particular point within the Church Calendar. Other than these, and nos. 73 and 141 whose sources have not been traced, it is possible to map with some certainty the position that these items would have occupied within the liturgical year. Excluding those items which are not specific to a particular festival, Adam's liturgical insertions are drawn from four main occasions in the liturgical Calendar, those of Pentecost,[122] Christmas,[123] Easter[124] and Ascension.[125] Adam

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[118] Ibid., 239.
[119] Ibid., 240. For more information on the intended recipients of fr. 146, see *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146*, ed. Edward H. Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990), 48-53.
[120] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', 240.
[121] These liturgical assignments are based on their appearance in either Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, a combined Cantatorium, Antiphoner and Hymnal, or Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 564, an Ordinal, both originating from the collégiale of St Pierre.
[122] Nos. 67a and 83a.
[123] Nos. 77a and 106; no. 106 was also employed for the feasts of St Stephen (26th December) and St John the Evangelist (27th December).
[124] No. 143.
[125] No. 81a.

thus maps out two cycles of the liturgical year, the first encompassing Pentecost, Christmas and Ascension and the second Pentecost, Christmas and Easter. These items always appear in the correct liturgical sequence and, when read in conjunction with the *Ludus* narrative, it is evident that these two cycles serve a specific symbolic function.

The liturgical year according to the *Ludus* begins in both cycles with Pentecost. This festival, a commemoration of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples, reverberates throughout the narrative, being echoed in the union of the earthly body with the divine spirit carried out by Concord in order to create the Perfect Man – the central act of the narrative. Christmas also appears in both cycles, and this emphasis upon the birth of Christ Incarnate stresses the figurative relationship between this event and the creation of the Perfect Man, a 'new saviour', and strengthens their association within Adam's allegory. At the midpoint of the two cycles is the feast of the Ascension. This festival commemorates the return of Jesus to his heavenly Father and is mirrored throughout the *Ludus*' narrative in Prudence's expedition through the heavens – an allegorical representation of the journey of the Christian soul to God, following the path prepared by Christ. Adam accentuates the cyclical nature of his liturgical referencing by marking the recapitulation of the feast of Pentecost, where his second cycle commences, with a hymn which opens with the phrase 'Rejoice! the year's orbit has returned' (Beata nobis gaudia / anni reduxit orbita).[126] After another item drawn from the Nativity liturgy, the second cycle is completed with an allusion to Easter, the most important festival in the Christian Calendar, evoking the twin messages of redemption and salvation which are central to the narrative of the *Ludus*. Through its celebration of Christ's resurrection and triumph over the forces of evil, this Paschal reference foreshadows the forthcoming battle between the Perfect Man and the Vices with which the narrative ends. Perhaps this double cycle echoes the dualities of body and soul, the strands of human and divine, earthly and heavenly, sacred and profane, which are woven throughout the narrative and united in the creation of the Perfect Man.

Intermingling with this cycle is a second, briefer cycle of saints' days. The first two items to be taken from the *Sanctorale* (nos. 69a and 71a)[127] would have been used on numerous occasions but, if the first saint to be venerated by each of these items in the *Ludus* is considered, we have the dates of November 11th for St Martin and January 22nd

[126] *AH*, ii. no. 51, lines 1-2.
[127] *CAO*, nos. 8323 and 8390.

for St Vincent. Adam's liturgical model for no. 73 is not known and, as discussed in Chapter 3, the incipit *Virga Jesse* suggests an item used for the Annunciation or a similar Marian festival. However, Adam obviously intended this item to serve as a votive offering for St Peter, whose feast day falls on June 29th. This mini-cycle is completed by no. 137, based upon a responsory used at St Pierre on the feast day of St Elizabeth of Hungary, November 17th. Although not synchronised with Adam's citation of the *Temporale*, these items again all appear in the correct calendric order. As in the Fleury Playbook, the two cycles of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* interlock, providing a reminder of the birth, passion, resurrection and ascension of Christ, and the descent of his Holy Spirit, interwoven with saintly exemplars which represent the outworkings of grace and forgiveness and the living of a faithful Christian life. Expressing the dynamic intersection of the temporal and the eternal, these cycles form a meta-narrative which underpins the *Ludus*' allegory and reinforces the strong subtext of redemption as effected by the sacrificial death and resurrection of Christ.

V: A Model for Salvation: The *Temporale*

Within Adam's patterns of sacred time, each of his liturgical insertions has an essential role to play in reinforcing particular allegorical elements of the narrative and adding new dimensions of religious signification. For the readers of the *Ludus*, familiar with the liturgy, Adam's cited chants would have spoken of wider liturgical contexts, within which the associated words, music, sights and smells all possessed a redemptive efficacy.[128] It is essential for an accurate understanding of Adam's method of citation to remember that, for a thirteenth-century canon whose daily existence was underpinned by the cycles of the Office and Mass, each chant had its own particular identity, 'its own place, its own liturgical resonance'.[129] On hearing or reading a particular chant, the 'effect would be an immediate anchoring in the dimension of liturgy, an activation of the "worship" responses',[130] which made possible an experience of the sacramental power which flows through the liturgy.

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[128] Heffernan, Introduction to Heffernan and Matter (eds.), *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 6.
[129] Cynthia Bourgeault, 'Liturgical Dramaturgy and Modern Production', in Campbell and Davidson (eds.), *Fleury Playbook*, 144-60, at 146.
[130] Ibid., 147.

The first of Adam's liturgical citations is no. 67a, modelled upon the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*.[131] Sung on the feast of Pentecost, it contains various themes which chime with aspects of the *Ludus*' central allegory. Alluding to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the first Pentecost, the hymn-writer entreats God's Spirit to fill the hearts of his people and strengthen the weakness of their bodies with virtue:

> Imple superna gratia,
> Quae tu creasti pectora ...
> Infirma nostri corporis
> Virtute firma perpeti.
>
> (Fill with grace from above the hearts of those whom you have created ...
> Strengthening the weakness of our body with perpetual virtue.)[132]

These events are re-enacted in the *Ludus* by the filling of the Perfect Man's body with the divine soul from God before he is strengthened and prepared for battle through the attribution of various virtues. The Holy Spirit is praised for his power to drive away the enemy and restore peace, 'Hostem repelle longius / pacemque redde protinus',[133] and this also finds its counterpart in the *Ludus* in the Perfect Man's defeat of the Vices through which he re-instates the Golden Age. Emphasising the role of the Holy Spirit as a sign of Christ's continued love for his followers, he is described as a Spirit of love, 'caritas', and beseeched to 'pour love into our hearts' (infunde amorem cordibus),[134] recalling similar descriptions found in Concord's 'Pentecostal' motet (no. 135).[135] In a further echo of this motet, the sixth stanza of the hymn accentuates the 'ambassadorial' role of the Holy Spirit, who binds together the elements of the Godhead and unites God with humanity:

> Per te sciamus, ... patrem,
> Noscamus atque filium,
> Te utrorumque spiritum
> Credamus omni tempore.
>
> (Through you we know the Father, and we get to know the Son and we believe in you the Spirit for all time).[136]

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[131] *CAO*, no. 8407. For the text of this hymn, see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume and Henry M. Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-1922), ii. no. 132.
[132] *AH*, ii. no. 132, lines 3-4 and 15-16.
[133] Ibid., lines 17-18.
[134] Ibid., lines 7 and 14.
[135] The tenor of Concord's motet is derived from the following Pentecostal alleluia: 'Alleluia. Veni sancta spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris in eis ignem accende' (Alleluia. Come, Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of your faithful ones, and kindle the fire of your love in them).
[136] *AH*, ii. no. 132, lines 21-4.

For the community at St Pierre, the citation of this melody would have recalled an unusual ritual with which the feast of Pentecost was celebrated. As this hymn began, there was released from the height of the church tower into the choir a 'globe of fire' (globus ignis); doves and other birds (columbe, volucres) flew about in the nave, and leaves and flowers (frondes, flores), as well as a sort of small cake called *nieulles*, fell from the vault.[137] The purpose of this elaborate ritual was the representation, in several different forms, of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples. The account of the first Pentecost in Acts 2:1-13 states that those who witnessed the event heard the sound of a violent wind and saw the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of flame upon the heads of the disciples:

> And when the days of the Pentecost were accomplished, they were all together in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them.[138]

whilst at Jesus' baptism, the crowds observed the Holy Spirit descend upon Jesus in the form of a dove: 'And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, as a dove upon him'.[139] The powerful symbolism of this ritual both re-enacted the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples, filling them with God's love and 'sealing' their faith, and served as a striking visual reminder for the collegiate community of Christ's continued presence with them in the form of the Holy Spirit, his helper, who was to act as a sign of their salvation. Within the *Ludus*' narrative framework, the citation of this melody with its multi-layered resonances would have evoked the Pentecostal themes of the descent of the Holy Spirit, reinforcing the *Ludus*' allegory and reiterating the need for repentance and spiritual rebirth before the return of Christ.

The second festival in Adam's *Temporale* is the feast of the Nativity, commemorated by no. 77a, based upon the hymn *A solis ortu cardine*,[140] a song of praise to 'Christ the Prince' (Christum … principem).[141] Celebrating the birth of Christ Incarnate, the hymn accentuates Christ's nature as the Godhead made flesh, explaining that the 'blessed creator of the centuries put on the humble body of a man' (Beatus auctor saeculi /

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[137] Hautcœur, *Documents*, 65; Hautcœur, *Histoire*, i. 426-7. This ceremony was also practiced in the other churches of the parish of Lille. At the church of St Catherine, an account of 1386 noted an expenditure of 5 s, 'for the coulon, cakes and esouppes for Pentecost'.
[138] Acts 2:1-3.
[139] Luke 3:22; see also Matt. 3:16; Mark 1:10; John 1:32.
[140] *CAO*, no. 8248. For the text of this hymn, see *AH*, ii. no. 23.
[141] *AH*, ii. no. 23, line 3.

servile corpus induit),[142] a union of humanity and divinity that is reflected in the *Ludus'* Perfect Man. The focus of this hymn is the miracle of Christ's birth, a conception without the need for human parents: 'Clausa parentis viscera / coelestis intrat gratia, / venter puellae bajulat / secreta, quae non noverat',[143] a heavenly mystery which set into motion God's redemption plan. During Lauds, this hymn would have been sung after the recitation of the psalms and the Chapter, which on this occasion is from Hebrews 1:1-2 and underlines Christ's role as God Incarnate.[144] Used to celebrate the nativity of Christ through whom mankind can know its Creator and experience forgiveness and a spiritual rebirth, this hymn – and the events which it commemorates – finds numerous parallels in the thematics of the *Ludus*. The references to Christ's miraculous conception are echoed in the 'birth' of the Perfect Man created by Nature and God, without human interference, whilst Christ's identity as saviour and redeemer of humanity is mirrored in the Perfect Man's victory over the Vices through which he inaugurates a new age of peace and goodness. Sung in remembrance of Christ's birth on earth, this hymn would have encouraged the faithful to receive Christ again, inviting him to be born in their hearts.

Next in Adam's cycle of feasts is the Ascension, represented by the hymn *Æterne Rex altissime*[145] (no. 81a).[146] The hymn begins by locating Christ's ascension within the context of the crucifixion and resurrection, celebrating Christ's role as 'faithful redeemer' (Redemptor et fidelium),[147] by whom 'death is completely destroyed and the victory of grace is given' (quo mors … deperit, / datur triumphus gratiae).[148] The central theme of this hymn is Christ's heavenly journey, portrayed as his ascension 'above the stars' (qui scandis super sidera),[149] imagery which is strongly reflected in Prudence's celestial voyage to the heavenly court. The ascended Christ, who prepared the way to heaven for his followers, is beseeched that he may be the joy of faithful Christians (Tu, Christe, nostrum

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[142] Ibid., lines 5-6.
[143] 'Grace enters the closed womb of the heavenly mother. The secret womb of the virgin who had not known a man carries its heavy burden', *AH*, ii. no. 23, lines 9-12.
[144] 'God, who, at sundry times and in diverse manners, spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all, in these days hath spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world.'
[145] *CAO*, no. 8255.
[146] Numerous rituals have been associated with the feast of the Ascension, from the elevation of a cross when the words 'Ascendo ad Patrem' were sung, to the use of raised platforms from which certain items were sung, all of which re-enacted Christ being raised up to heaven. At Lille, following the singing of the responsory *Non vos relinquam* (*CAO*, no. 7234), the presiding cleric mounted the pulpit and 'made as if to ascend to heaven from the top of a mountain': see Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, i. 483-4.
[147] *AH*, ii. no. 47, line 2.
[148] Ibid., lines 3-4.
[149] Ibid., line 30.

gaudium), and a 'reward in heaven' (manens Olympo praemium)[150] for those who come after him. The role of the ascension in the unfolding of redemption history is underlined with a petition for the forgiveness of sins (ignosce culpis omnibus),[151] made possible now that Christ is seated at the right hand of his heavenly Father (Scandens tribunal dexterae / Patris).[152] The hymn concludes with the introduction of an eschatological theme, pointing towards Christ's Second Coming:

Ut cum rubente coeperis
Clarere nube judicis,
Poenas repellas debitas,
Reddas coronas perditas.

> So that when you begin to appear out of a glowing cloud as judge, may you reject the punishment we deserve and return our lost crowns.[153]

This item provides a summary of the doctrine surrounding Christ's death, resurrection and ascension, demonstrating their place within the plan of redemption and explicating the concept of salvation through repentance and forgiveness, themes prevalent throughout the *Ludus*. With its evocations of Christ's heavenly journey and return to his Father, where he will reign until the day of Judgement, this item is clearly linked with the *Ludus*' allegory and would have served to remind the faithful of Christ's expected return, offering hope and reassurance that he has prepared the way for them and will return to take them to himself.[154]

With Adam's next item, no. 83a, based upon the hymn *Beata nobis gaudia*,[155] we return to the Pentecostal theme first introduced with *Veni Creator Spiritus*.[156] Like *Veni Creator Spiritus*, this hymn gives an account of the events of the day of Pentecost. This is followed by no. 106, Adam's second evocation of the celebration of Christ's nativity, modelled upon the Christmas sequence *Letabundus*.[157] This item reiterates many of the motifs of the previous Christmas hymn, *A solis ortu cardine*, and centres upon the

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[150] Ibid., lines 17 and 18.
[151] Ibid., line 22.
[152] Ibid., lines 5-6: 'Climbing to the judgement seat at the right hand of the Father'.
[153] Ibid., lines 25-8.
[154] John 14:1-3: 'Let not your heart be troubled. You believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house there are many mansions. If not, I would have told you: because I go to prepare a place for you. And if I shall go, and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and will take you to myself; that where I am, you also may be'.
[155] *CAO*, no. 8273. For the text of this hymn, see *AH*, ii. no. 51.
[156] From Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, it is clear that, at Lille, the hymn *Beata nobis gaudia* was sung to the melody of *Jesu Redemptor omnium* but, for the occupants of St Pierre, it is the Pentecost text which would have been recalled through the citation of this melody.
[157] An account of this item was given in Chapter 3, 138-41. An edition of this sequence is found in Stevens, *Words and Music*, 91-5

miraculous birth of Christ, 'regem regum / intacte profudit thorus, / res miranda' (the womb of a virgin has brought forth the king of kings – a marvellous event).[158] Christ's humility in assuming human form is accentuated, 'verbum, ens altissime, / corporari passum est / carne sumpta' (the Word, the being of the Most High, has suffered itself to be embodied in the flesh it has taken)[159] and Christ's birth is heralded as the fulfilment of ancient prophecies: 'Quem docet litera, / natum considera' (Consider this child of whom Scripture teaches us).[160] This is the last liturgical item to appear in the *Ludus* before the creation of the Perfect Man and, with its references to the birth of Christ, Lord and saviour of mankind, serves to prefigure the Perfect Man's own 'nativity'.

Adam's double *Temporale* cycle culminates in no. 143, a *contrafactum* of an Adam of St Victor sequence entitled *Zima vetus*, which would have been sung at Mass during the octave of Easter.[161] This is Adam's only evocation of Easter and it is inserted at a pertinent point in the narrative, directly preceding the battle of the Virtues and Vices which enacts Christ's defeat of the forces of evil achieved through his death and resurrection. This item is a triumphant song of praise to Christ. Easter Sunday, commemoration of the resurrection, is hailed as 'the day of our hope' (Haec est dies nostrae spei),[162] which marks the 'end of our sorrow' and 'brings salvation' (dies nostri doloris terminus, dies salutifera).[163] Exhibiting a typically medieval love of typology, Adam of St Victor searches the Old Testament for precursors of the resurrection, finding it prefigured in the liberation of the Hebrews from the 'furnace of iron'[164] and from the 'labour of their slavery' in 'mud, brick and straw',[165] in the delivery of Joseph from the well,[166] in God's vengeance upon those who taunted the bald prophet Elisha,[167] and in Samson's defeat of one thousand Philistines at Rameth-Lechi[168] and his carrying off the city gates from Gaza.[169] Christ's death and resurrection are thus placed within the context of the history of

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[158] Stevens, *Words and Music*, 91, v. 1b; translation by Stevens.
[159] Ibid., v. 4b.
[160] Ibid., v. 6b.
[161] Before this item, there is an alleluia to the Virgin Mary which Adam specifies is based on *Justum deduxit Dominus*. Unfortunately, this has not been traced and from its brief text it is impossible to be certain on which occasion it would have been sung.
[162] Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry (eds.), *Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor: Texte et Musique* (Paris, 1900), 257, line 4.
[163] Ibid., 258, lines 17-18.
[164] 'Hebraeos liberavit / de fornace ferrea', ibid., 257, lines 8-9.
[165] 'opus erat servitutis / lutum, later, palea', ibid., lines 11-12.
[166] 'Ioseph exit de cisterna', ibid., 258, line 28.
[167] 'Irrisores Helysei, / dum conscendit domum Dei, / Zelum calvi sentuint', ibid., lines 42-44.
[168] 'In maxilla mille sternit / et de tribu sua spernit Sanson matrimonium', ibid., 259, lines 48-50.
[169] 'Sanson Gaza seras pandit / et asportans portas scandit / montis supercilium', ibid., lines 51-53.

Israel and heralded as the culmination of God's plan of salvation worked out through his chosen people.

The final two stanzas return to a celebration of the holy day of Easter, on which 'death and life have fought' (mors et vita confluxere)[170] and 'life has conquered death' (vita vicit letum).[171] The sequence concludes with a number of Eucharistic references, evoking the daily rememoration of the events of Good Friday and Easter Sunday. Christ is beseeched to 'call us to the paschal table' (ad paschalem nos vivita)[172] where the believer may partake of Christ the 'living bread' (vive panis), the 'true and fruitful vine' (vera vitis et fecunda), be cleansed by Christ the 'living water' (vivax unda)[173] and thereby be saved from a 'second death' (ut a morte nos secunda / tua salvet gratia).[174] With its emphasis upon the celebration of the resurrection, through which Christ triumphed over the powers of sin and death and earned for mankind the possibility of redemption, this sequence shares many themes with the *Ludus* and strengthens the central message of its allegory – the promise of salvation.

Throughout Adam's dual cycle of feast days, the liturgical *contrafacta* chosen serve to chronicle the most important events of Christ's life, highlighting the fundamental moments in the history of salvation. Adam's *Temporale* guides his readers through a summary of the key doctrines of the Christian faith, whilst providing instruction on the virgin birth, the union of human and divine in the person of Christ Incarnate, the Holy Trinity, and the role of the Holy Spirit. Whichever feast they evoke, each of Adam's liturgical insertions anticipates the final item, the Easter sequence, locating the events to which they refer along the axis of redemption, at the centre of which is Christ's sacrificial death and miraculous resurrection. Progressing through the endless cycles of the Church year, through seasons of penitence and mourning to seasons of joy and thanksgiving, Adam's liturgical insertions renew the events which they commemorate in all their 'original efficacy',[175] granting the readers a foretaste of the 'mystery of Jesus Christ',[176] and enabling them to partake once again in the resurrection of Christ and thereby reaffirm their salvation.

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[170] Ibid., line 68.
[171] Ibid., line 74.
[172] Ibid., 260, line 79.
[173] Ibid., lines 81-2.
[174] Ibid., lines 84-5.
[175] Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 83.
[176] Gregory I, *Dialogue IV*, cap. lviii, in *PL*, lxxvii. 426.

VI: Saintly Exemplars: The *Sanctorale*

Interspersed with the liturgical items drawn from the chief festivals of the Christian year are a number of items derived from the *Sanctorale* which, in their original context as in the *Ludus*, are employed to venerate particular saints. These items are often related more directly to the narrative at the point at which they are inserted as Adam selects items which are appropriate to the classes of saints represented in his narrative. Unlike the items with which Adam constructs his *Temporale* cycle, which articulate the central tenets of the Christian faith and embody redemptive power, these *Sanctorale* items are included as paradigms of saintly living, designed to be followed and imitated. They serve as exemplars of those who – like the Perfect Man – have triumphed over the evils of this world and have received their eternal reward, and within the context of the *Ludus* become Christ-like models of virtue and sanctity, embodiments of eternal Christian qualities.

The first two items of this saintly cycle, nos. 69a and 71a, are both modelled upon Common hymns, *Iste confessor* and *Sanctorum meritis*. *Iste confessor*, used to venerate the class of confessor saints and, in particular, Sts. Martin and Gregory, is derived from the Office of confessors.[177] In constructing his new text, Adam draws on the vitae of the saints, giving an account of their miraculous deeds.[178] These saintly examples of selfless generosity and humble endurance are underpinned by the original text of *Iste confessor* in which the confessor saints are described as 'pious, wise, humble, modest, sober' (pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus, sobrius),[179] a list of virtues echoed in the *Ludus* by Nature's sisters who each bequeath the Perfect Man their moral characteristics. No. 71a, modelled on the hymn *Sanctorum meritis*, from the Common of two or more martyrs, is sung to the class of martyr saints, with particular reference to Sts. Vincent and Laurence.[180] Again, Adam's new text recounts various episodes from the saints' lives derived from

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[177] *CAO*, no. 8323. For the text of this hymn, see *AH*, ii. no. 101.
[178] The first stanza, sung to St Martin, alludes to the tale in which the saint gave half his cloak to a beggar, who subsequently revealed himself in a dream to have been Christ (Jacobus Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), ii. 292), whilst the second stanza, addressed to Gregory, recalls the legend that Gregory prayed that the emperor Trajan – who had been damned – would be pardoned. As he had pleaded for a damned soul, he was instructed by an angel that he either had to endure two days in purgatory or be plagued for his whole life with aches and pains (Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 176-7). Gregory is said to have chosen the latter and spent the rest of his life struggling with all kinds of illnesses.
[179] *AH*, ii. no. 101, lines 5-6.
[180] *CAO*, no. 8390. For the text of this hymn, see *AH*, ii. no. 97.

contemporary legends.[181] *Sanctorum meritis* reiterates these themes of bravery, endurance of suffering and torture, and martyrdom:

> Hi pro te furias atque ferocia
> Calcarunt hominum saevaque verbera,
> Cessit his lacerans fortiter ungula
> Nec carpsit penetralia.
> Caeduntur gladiis more bidentium,
> Non murmur resonat, non quaerimonia.
>
> (These men on your behalf spurn with bravery the rages and savage words of men: in their bravery, the claw neither tears them, nor penetrates their inner parts. They are killed by a double-edged sword, not a murmur is heard, nor a complaint).[182]

The martyrs are honoured for possessing a 'quiet heart' (corde tacito) and a 'clear conscious' (bene conscia),[183] as a result of 'enduring patiently' (conservat patientiam)[184] and living a life of faith. The hymn concludes by describing the rewards prepared by God for his martyrs:

> Quae vox, quae poterit lingua retexere,
> Quae tu martyribus munera praeparas,
> Rubri nam fluido sanguine laurei
> Ditantur bene fulgidis.
>
> What voice, what tongue can unravel the rewards which you prepare for your martyrs? They are blessed with a shining crown of bay, flowing with red blood.[185]

The remaining two items in Adam's *Sanctorale* are sung to individual saints, the first, no. 73, sung to St Peter and the second, no. 137, to St Elizabeth of Hungary.[186] As has been seen, these saints held a particular relevance for Adam, St Peter as patron of his church and St Elizabeth as patron of suffering souls and, as such, they serve as especially apt models for the canons of St Pierre. In addition to their local significance, Sts Peter and Elizabeth display many of the virtues encouraged through the *Ludus*' narrative, demonstrating lives of faithfulness and devotion. The apostle Peter was party to many significant events during Christ's ministry and on numerous occasions exhibited great

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[181] St Vincent is said to have suffered many kinds of terrible torment but continued to praise God and rejoice throughout. He was finally tortured over a fire, but even this failed to kill him as he cooled it with the 'dew' of his blood, 'tu ignem torridum … rorasti sanguine' (Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 106). The second stanza refers to St Laurence, who was renowned for his distribution of the wealth entrusted to him by Emperor Philip. As Adam's text describes, he sought out Christians by day and night and used the money to minister to their needs (Voragine, *Golden Legend*, ii. 64).
[182] *AH*, ii. no. 97, lines 9-14.
[183] Ibid., line 15.
[184] Ibid., line 16.
[185] Ibid., lines 17-20.
[186] These items were discussed in detail in Chapter 3, so a brief comment here will suffice.

faith: he walked over the water to Jesus,[187] he was chosen to be present at both the transfiguration[188] and the raising to life of Jairus' daughter[189] and, following Christ's death, he converted 3000 people by his preaching on the day of Pentecost.[190] Furthermore, St Peter stands as a figure of hope for those who have wavered in their faith; despite, on the eve of Christ's crucifixion, denying Christ three times,[191] according to the Gospel of John Peter was forgiven by the risen Christ and entrusted with the charge of 'feeding Christ's sheep'.[192] St Elizabeth similarly serves as an example of devout faith. Her vita tells that, even as a child she displayed holiness, choosing to spend time in prayer rather than playing.[193] As she grew in age, the intensity of her devotion increased and she chose the Virgin Mary as her patroness and advocate.[194] Determined to live simply and humbly, she daily gave away some token of her prosperity[195] and passed the majority of her days engaged in fervent prayer,[196] ceasing only to undertake lowly work carried out for the love of God,[197] or to visit and tend to the sick.[198]

Viewed together, these four liturgical insertions, and the saints whom they worship, provide models of sanctity and reveal the power of salvation. Within the *Ludus*' enclosing framework, they serve to introduce concepts of devotion, humility and, above all, faith – concepts which resonate with the fundamental themes of Adam's narrative. These saintly examples of Christ-like virtue and goodness demonstrate, throughout the events narrated from their lives, the importance of prayer and faithfulness in living the Christian life and portray the possibility of forgiveness and redemption leading to a spiritual rebirth. Perhaps most importantly, they serve as examples of devout souls who have gone before, running the race marked out for them,[199] and who have achieved their eternal reward, offering hope and encouragement to Adam's readers. Adam's *Sanctorale* cycle weaves in amongst the unfolding of the account of Christ's life, death and resurrection a number of human

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[187] Matt. 14:22-33.
[188] Matt. 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36.
[189] Mark 5:22-43; Luke 8:41-56.
[190] See Acts 2:41 and Voragine, *Golden Legend*, i. 340-1.
[191] Matt. 26:69-75; Mark 14:66-72; Luke 22:54-62; John 18:15-18, 25-27.
[192] John 21:15-19; Adam alludes to this in his text, naming Peter as the 'shepherd of the sheep' (ovium pastorem).
[193] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, ii. 303.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid., 304.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid., 307.
[199] See 1 Cor. 9:24, 'Know you not that they that run in the race, all run indeed, but one receiveth the prize? So run that you may obtain'; see also Heb. 12:1b, '…let us run by patience to the fight proposed to us'.

examples with whom his readers might identify. Glossing the events of the saints' vitae, these insertions function as exemplars to be imitated and guides to direct the faithful along the path towards salvation.

VII: Journeys towards God: Procession and Pilgrimage

Within the collegiate community of St Pierre, processions of various kinds played a meaningful role in the liturgy, its ritual and ceremony, and were at the heart of the celebration of the most important festivals. The ritual of procession, with its movement from a 'secular' location to the apex of sanctity (usually an altar or particular church), pausing along the route at various points such as the Stations of the Cross or altars where songs would be sung and devotions made, provides a useful model for reading and understanding the *Ludus*. In both its narrative theme and its structure, the *Ludus* shares various characteristics of a procession, adopting some of its fundamental principles in the way in which it creates meaning and religious significance for its readers. Through several different means, Adam evokes conceptual movement, with all its religious resonances, in order to underline the allegory of Prudence's journey towards God.

In addition to the Mass and Offices which were celebrated within the choir of the church, at St Pierre there were many other ceremonies which took place outside of these confines. Locations other than the sanctuary and chancel of the church were used due to their dramatic effect, in order to heighten the commemoration of key religious events: for instance, the discovery of the unveiled cross in the sepulchre on Easter morning, the washing of feet in the Chapter House on Maundy Thursday or the 'Expulsion of the Penitents from the west door of the cathedral on Ash Wednesday'.[200] In these examples and many others like them, the use of an outside venue implies that these ritual acts were 'not merely a commemoration, but a re-enactment of a religious event'.[201] Processions were a central feature of worship on feast days and on many occasions throughout the year the whole community of St Pierre would have joined together to visit a holy site within the church or outside it. Usually, such processions would be accompanied by the singing of chants and, at the station(s), a ceremonial action such as sprinkling an altar with holy

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[200] Craig Wright, 'The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres', in Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford, 2000), 344-71, at 344.
[201] Ibid.

water, lighting a candle, or venerating the relics of a saint, would be carried out.[202] In some instances, Mass would have been celebrated at the destination of the procession.[203]

The purpose of these processions was threefold and often involved several layers of interpretation operating simultaneously. A prime example of such a multi-layered meaning can be found in the Palm Sunday procession mentioned above. This triumphal procession, involving the singing of chants and the blessing and distribution of palms, formed an elaborate ritual with which to commemorate Christ's joyful entry into the Holy City of Jerusalem, as recorded in the four Gospels.[204] Additionally, there is a strong element of re-enactment, in which different parts of the procession represent the various aspects of the Gospel story. The priest serves as Christ's representative, entering into his church which becomes, for the duration of the ritual, a symbol of the Holy City. He is welcomed by the other participants in the procession, representing the crowd who greeted Christ, waving palm branches and shouting 'Hosanna'. Finally, a third level of meaning is overlaid, in which the procession assumes an eschatological dimension. Whilst representing the city of Jerusalem, the church into which the procession enters also serves to symbolise the Heavenly City and Christ's entry into Jerusalem thus becomes his return to the 'Heavenly Jerusalem upon the completion of his earthly ministry'.[205] For those who participated in this procession, the passing through the Golden Gates of the Heavenly City took on a prophetic meaning, expressing their desire to be amongst those faithful Christian souls who enter into the New Jerusalem at the Second Coming of Christ. Together, the three aspects of this procession – commemoration, re-enactment and prophecy – are united into one ceremonial act which serves to strengthen the redemptive significance of the festival.

In constructing and compiling the *Ludus*, Adam sought to utilise various elements of procession in order to bring its multi-layered symbolism into conjunction with his

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[202] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 30. At St Pierre, the Rogation days were marked by processions to three different locations: on the first day to the *Maladrerie*, on the second day to the church of St Andre and on the third day to *Notre Dame de la Salle*. Likewise, the feast of the Ascension was celebrated with a solemn procession involving all the parish priests of Lille. Throughout the period of Lent, processions were held every Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Friday. On each day, the procession would make its way to a different church in Lille, 'demonstrating a unity of the Christian community traditionally associated with the Lenten season' (Wright, 'Palm Sunday Procession', 344). Processions would also have been held on the feast days of local saints, on which the clergy would visit a chapel or church dedicated to that particular saint and make a devotional offering.

[203] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 30-1.

[204] See Matt. 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:29-38; John 12:12-15.

[205] Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'Bishop Grandisson's Provision for Music and Ceremony', in Michael Swanton (ed.), *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration* (Exeter, 1991), 136-43, at 142.

narrative. The most straightforward recollection of the rite of procession occurs in no. 73, sung in honour of St Peter. As discussed in Chapter 3, the model for this item exhibits the characteristics of a processional antiphon and, within the *Ludus*' context, seems designed to evoke a festal procession.[206] As patron saint of the church, such a procession would have been the occasion of elaborate ceremony and ritual, involving the processing of his relics and the censing of his altar where prayers would have been recited and chants sung in his honour.[207] Adam's second evocation of procession appears in the second section of his narrative and serves to underline the narrative action. In their original liturgical context, the three liturgical *contrafacta* inserted in the second section – the responsory, alleluia and sequence – would have prepared for the reading of the Gospel, before which it would have been processed with great reverence from altar to pulpitum.[208] This procession served to heighten the sense of the importance of God's Word and prepare the congregation for what they were about to hear. The three musical items which herald this procession are sequential (either increasing in joy or gravity, depending on the nature of the feast) and prepare for the climax of the series, the Gospel, the Word of God. In the same way, in the *Ludus*, these items and the procession which they evoke serve to anticipate the Perfect Man's first and only musical utterance, in which he advocates a life of virtue.[209] The final liturgical procession to which Adam refers is that of the Offertory procession which marks the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. As noted in Chapter 3, the entire second section of the *Ludus* – in which the Virtues present their gifts to the Perfect Man – recalls the Offertory procession in which the members of the congregation bring candles, oblation loaves and wine to the celebrant of the Eucharist before the bread and wine are transubstantiated into Christ's body and blood.[210] In the context of the *Ludus*' narrative at this point, these Eucharistic references serve to underline the parallels between the Perfect Man and Christ and to prepare for his allegorical battle which lies ahead.

These small-scale processions to which Adam alludes are combined within a much larger-scale processional schema. The narrative of the *Ludus* depicts an allegorical journey which progresses from the 'secular' location of Nature's paradise, through various 'stations' of the cosmos – Mars, Jupiter, Saturn etc. – until reaching the 'high altar' of God.

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[206] Chapter 3, 126-7.
[207] The church of St Pierre held a fragment of St Peter's Chains.
[208] The Gospel would have been processed by a deacon, preceded by taperers, thurifer and, on double feasts, the processional cross.
[209] See no. 157.
[210] Andrew Hughes, 'The *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 6.

Within this framework, Prudence's passage past the saints in heaven similarly shares many features of a liturgical procession. One by one, she travels past the assembled saints, who are gathered according to their class. As Prudence passes each group, she makes a 'station' before each one, pausing to listen to the songs of praise and supplication rising from earth, recounting the lives of the saints. All of these processions evoked by Adam, whether great or small, emphasise the 'processional' nature of the *Ludus*. Organised with sections of narrative poetry alternating with sung items, the *Ludus* employs the structural principles of procession, with movement and progression interspersed with moments of stasis, lyric pauses in which songs are sung. For clerics such as Adam, the active devotion of procession was an important part of the expression of their beliefs, demonstrating faithfulness, strengthening the act of worship and intensifying the commemoration of a specific religious event. By engaging with the conventions of procession, through structuring his work accordingly, Adam invites his readers to participate in this allegorical voyage, recreating the action of the narrative by following in Prudence's footsteps and halting before each of his musical 'altars' for a moment of contemplation.

These principles of procession are augmented in another journey towards God, the pilgrimage, a devotional practice which exhibits a number of correspondences with the *Ludus*, its themes and its structure. In her study of the relationship between pilgrimage literature and dream visions, Susan Stakel uncovers numerous similarities, especially with regard to form and structure,[211] citing examples such as Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre du Chemin de Long Estude* and *L'Avision-Christine*,[212] as well as the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun.[213] Stakel demonstrates the ease with which the concept of pilgrimage can be 'metaphorised',[214] beginning with St Paul's teaching that Christians are 'aliens and sojourners seeking a heavenly homeland from which they have been exiled'.[215] It is only in the act of 'severing those ties that bind one to place', she explains, that it is possible to separate oneself from the things of this world and its inherent

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[211] Susan Stakel, 'Structural Convergence of Pilgrimage and Dream-Vision', in Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (ed.), *Journeys Towards God: Pilgrimage and Crusade* (Kalamazoo, 1992), 195-203.
[212] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre du Chemin de Long Estude*, ed. Robert Püschel (Berlin, 1887; rept. Geneva, 1974); *Lavision Christine*, ed. Sr. Mary Louis Towner (Washington, D.C., 1932).
[213] Stakel, 'Structural Convergence' , 195.
[214] Ibid., 196.
[215] Ibid.; see Hebrews 11:13-16, 'All these died according to faith, not having received the promises, but beholding them afar off, and saluting them, and confessing that they are pilgrims and strangers on the earth. For they that say these things, do signify that they seek a country. And truly if they had been mindful of that from whence they came out, they had doubtless time to return. But now they desire a better, that is to say, a heavenly country. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for he hath prepared for them a city'.

sinfulness.[216] Removed from the familiar routines of daily existence, subjected to the hardship of the journey and 'immersed in the rituals of penance and purification',[217] the pilgrim is released from himself and is thus able to experience transformation within himself.[218] This transformation, in turn, makes possible knowledge of the divine and, for some, facilitates a 'mystical union with God'.[219]

From studying numerous examples of pilgrimage literature, Stakel distils the essence of pilgrimage, defining it both semantically as 'exile, journey, hardship, desire for the homeland',[220] and sequentially as 'departure, adventure, transformation, and return'.[221] Many of these topoi are apparent in Christine de Pizan's *Le Chemin*, in which the dreamer Christine embarks upon a voyage on the path of Long Study, from Eden to the Holy Lands and from there to the ends of the earth.[222] Leaving behind material existence, she embarks upon the road of study on which spiritual and intellectual journeys merge.[223] Turning to the *Ludus*, we find these same elements reflected in its narrative structure – the fashioning of the chariot and subsequent departure of Prudence having been charged with her mission, her adventurous voyage through the universe, during which time she experiences various hardships and tests of character, her transformation upon arriving in the court of heaven and coming face to face with God, and her safe return to Nature's paradise, this time with the soul.

In *L'Avision*, Christine achieves the necessary sense of separation from the familiarity of home and of embarking on an 'adventure of self-discovery', not through the usual 'new roads, sights and companions',[224] but through her utilisation of the 'marvellous'.[225] She is led by Dame Opinion to the University of Paris, where she sees 'whirlwinds of all possible colours swirling around the heads of the debating clerks'.[226]

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[216] Stakel, 'Structural Convergence', 196.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid., after Frank C. Gardiner, *The Pilgrimage of Desire: A Study of Theme and Genre in Medieval Literature* (Leiden, 1971), 12.
[221] Ibid., after Leonard J. Bowman, '*Itinerarium*: The Shape of the Metaphor', in Bowman (ed.), *Itinerarium: The Idea of Journey: A Collection of Papers given at the Fifteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1980* (Salzburg, 1983), 3-33, at 5.
[222] Stakel, 'Structural Convergence', 199.
[223] For Christine, the 'search for truth through learning' is equated with salvation, whilst 'self-satisfied ignorance' leads only to damnation: see Stakel, 'Structural Convergence', 200.
[224] Stakel, 'Structural Convergence', 199.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid.

From here, she goes in search of Dame Philosophie, travelling through rooms of 'indescribable beauty and richness'.[227] On finally coming face to face with Philosophy, Christine is overcome by the 'merveille' of it all and faints, after which she is 'reborn to a new understanding of the principles of life'.[228] Prudence too, on her journey through the heavens, constantly points out sights and sounds which amaze her and asks her guide for explanations as to the function and meaning of the things that she encounters.[229] On arriving in heaven, she, like Christine, is overwhelmed by its brilliance and swoons, having to be revived by Faith.[230] Like Christine's dream-journeys, Prudence's celestial voyage represents a pilgrimage of sorts, a voyage of discovery and a spiritual quest, with its chief aim being the reward of a soul. For Adam's readers, Prudence thus assumes another role: having made her own pilgrimage, she now becomes a guide for those who would follow her on her journey of the soul.

The pilgrimage was a central form of religious devotion and worship during the Middle Ages which held a complex meaning for those who undertook this spiritual journey. The motives for making a pilgrimage were many and varied: some were hoping for divine aid or a miraculous cure on arriving at the shrine, others had already received answers to prayer and were going on pilgrimage as an act of thanksgiving, whilst others might have been instructed to undertake a pilgrimage as an act of penitence.[231] Whatever their reason for going, 'all were journeying in the knowledge that pilgrimage was a meritorious act from which benefits accrued in the hereafter'.[232] Clearly, the overall aim of the pilgrimage was that of reaching the destination – the church, shrine, statue,[233] or relics of a particular saint – the 'dynamic centre at which divine power was concentrated and from which it flowed'.[234] Once at the shrine, centre of the miraculous, pilgrims would hear tales of previous miracles and join others clustered around the shrine seeking divine

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[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid., 201.
[229] See *Ludus*, 63-5, *49-52*: as Prudence and Reason reach the air, Prudence is puzzled by the clouds, winds and the mysterious demons of the air. Passing through the ether, they arrive within the circle of the moon, and she questions why it sometimes eclipses the sun. Next they cross the land of the sun: Prudence marvels that the sun rises and sets, that it rules the orbit of the planets and changes colours. See also *Ludus*, 73-5, *63-64*: now joined by *Nous*, Prudence crosses the waters above the sky and is met with marvellous sights which amaze and delight her, causing her to ask many questions of her guide.
[230] See *Ludus*, 94, *89*: as she approaches the throne of God, Prudence cannot bear its brilliance and falls into a lethargy.
[231] Robert Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', in Sargent-Baur (ed.), *Journeys Towards God*, 31-43, at 31-2.
[232] Ibid., 32.
[233] An example of this is the statue of Notre-Dame de la Treille housed in the *collégiale* of St Pierre, which was the destination of numerous thirteenth-century pilgrims.
[234] Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', 30.

intervention and cures.[235] The shrine itself was the 'magnetic centre' at which pilgrims came into 'the immediate presence of sacral power'.[236] Yet, the miraculous was not confined solely to the destination of the pilgrimage – the journey itself held merit. Robert Worth Frank, Jr. suggests that the very act of pilgrimage also contains a sacral character and possesses certain power which may render a transformation upon the pilgrim.[237]

In exploring this theory, Worth Frank, Jr. discusses the Rocamadour narratives which were written in 1172 by an unknown recorder, likely to be a monk from the monastery there.[238] In these accounts, some eighty percent of the miracles occurred either at the scene of need or during the course of the pilgrimage, compared with around only twenty percent which took place at the shrine, despite the fact that the Rocamadour narratives (as well as those for other shrines) 'generally convey the impression that presence at the shrine is obligatory'.[239] The stories suggest that the act of pilgrimage could even 'extend its protection after the journey'.[240] Characters in the narratives that experience ill-fortune are known to cry out to the Virgin, reminding her that they have already undertaken a pilgrimage to her shrine, and they are saved. An example of this occurs in the story of a knight whose house is set alight following a lightning strike. He calls upon the Virgin, declaring that he has previously visited her sanctuary, upon which the rain begins to fall and extinguishes the fire.[241] Similarly, just the act of beginning a pilgrimage could 'evoke divine power'.[242] This may be seen in the narrative concerning the boy born blind who, with his mother, travels to Rocamadour to pray for the gift of sight. On the way, they arrive at a crossroad which bears an image of Christ. The mother falls to her knees and prays and immediately her son is healed.[243]

Most significant for the *Ludus* are those narratives which Worth Frank, Jr. describes as 'reporting metaphorical pilgrimages',[244] in which the symbolism of pilgrimage is enough to induce divine assistance. He recounts the story of a priest from Chartres who had been ill for several weeks and was on the verge of death. Far too ill to travel, his

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[235] Ibid., 32.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid., 33.
[238] *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au XIIe Siècle*, ed. and trans. Edmond Albe (Paris, 1907).
[239] Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', 34.
[240] Ibid., 36.
[241] *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, I.9 (90-92).
[242] Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', 36.
[243] Ibid.; *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, I.23 (112-114).
[244] Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', 38.

mother pinned upon his clothing the pilgrim badge of Rocamadour and called on the Virgin for her aid, at which point the priest recovered his health.[245] Another narrative tells of a woman who had suffered from dropsy for seven years and could not be cured. Despite the despair of those around her, every day this woman prayed to the Virgin for healing. She lived a great distance from Rocamadour and was unable to travel, so instead would 'prostrate herself in prayer and position herself in the direction of the shrine',[246] until one day, as she went to pray, she was cured.[247] In both these stories, the 'elevated status of pilgrimage' is revealed,[248] with cures effected by a pilgrim badge and a metaphorical travelling of the pilgrimage route.[249] Read collectively, the Rocamadour narratives suggest that there is no clear-cut distinction between the journey and the shrine in terms of the accessibility of miraculous. Although it is apparent that the shrine held a heightened sense of 'awareness of divine presence', this divine power could manifest itself 'along a whole spectrum: from the moment of beseeching through the whole pilgrimage experience'.[250] It would appear that there was something about carrying out an act of pilgrimage, even metaphorically, that acted as a means of gaining union with God, even before the final destination was reached.

When embarking on his task of re-writing the *Ludus*, Adam was unwell and it seems that he was stricken with a recurring illness which may have led to a premature death. Aware, perhaps, of his impending death, it is possible that Adam wished to go on a pilgrimage in order to seek healing but, for various reasons, was unable to do so. Yet, by constructing the *Ludus* around the journey undertaken by Prudence, Adam created a metaphorical pilgrimage which, like the dying priest and the woman with dropsy, enabled him to 'travel' a pilgrimage route and to demonstrate his devotion without leaving his sickbed. As a substitute for embarking upon a physical pilgrimage, the various acts of journeying embedded in the *Ludus* offered, both for Adam and his subsequent readers, access to spiritual power. By participating in the narrative journey, pausing to offer worship at the musical 'stations' encountered along the way, the readers of the *Ludus* could gain access to the efficacy of the pilgrimage – the possibility of a divine encounter. Adam and his fellow 'pilgrims', unfettered by the usual constraints and hardships of pilgrimage,

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[245] *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, I.37 (135-36).
[246] Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', 39.
[247] *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, I.20 (107-8).
[248] Worth Frank, Jr., 'Pilgrimage and Sacral Power', 39.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid.

could follow Prudence's path towards God as far as they wish. Like the dreaming Christine, Adam travels beyond the ends of the earth, right to the inner courts of heaven where Prudence arrives before Christ, re-enacting a pilgrimage to the symbolic centre of the earth from which salvation springs.

VIII: The Golden Age: A New Heaven

Following the battle in which the Perfect Man, aided by the Virtues, defeats the Vices, the world is set free and the Golden Age is reinstated. In a passage strongly reminiscent of the description of the new heaven and new earth found in Revelation 21 and 22, Adam portrays this new age as a place where everyone finds their delight in serving God.[251] The natural world is transformed: the earth is no longer subject to the influence of the stars,[252] and it is a place of beauty and abundance, where flowers and fruits continuously renew themselves.[253] Mankind is satisfied with its lot,[254] and no longer requires lavish material goods. There are no more long and expensive banquets,[255] sumptuous clothes,[256] caparisoned horses,[257] or continual acquisition of land.[258] Above all, it is a place of peace in which no one harms his neighbour,[259] there is no more discord or bad faith and evil is banished for ever.[260] Coming at the very end of the *Ludus*, Adam's description of the Golden Age is clearly intended to provide a foretaste of heaven, a glimpse of the reward which awaits those faithful souls who have followed Christ's teaching and lived a virtuous life. For those readers who took on the 'spiritual quest'

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[251] 'Sed Deo concupiunt humiles placere', *Ludus*, 168, *186*, stanza 5; see Revelation 22:3, 'And there shall be no curse any more; but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his servants shall serve him'.
[252] 'Jam terra subsidium rejicit astrorum', *Ludus*, 168, *186*, stanza 2; cf. Revelation 22:5, 'And night shall be no more: and they shall not need the light of the lamp, nor the light of the sun, because the Lord God shall enlighten them, and they shall reign for ever and ever'.
[253] 'Jam pomus fit gravida onere pomorum / inculta, et vinea pondere botrorum', 'sic flores et ceteri duplicant favorem', *Ludus*, 168, *186*, stanzas 2 and 3; see Revelation 22:2, 'In the midst of the street thereof, and on both sides of the river, was the tree of life, bearing twelve fruits, yielding its fruits every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations'.
[254] 'Jam enim circumspicit homines gaudere, / contentos in modicus', *Ludus*, 168, *186*, stanza 5.
[255] 'Non quærunt, ut pocula hauriant, scyphorum / paratus nec appetunt crapulas ciborum', *Ludus*, 168, *186*, stanza 6.
[256] 'Non curant de plurium gloria pannorum', *Ludus*, 169, *186*, stanza 7.
[257] 'Nec quærunt solliciti phaleras equorum', *Ludus*, 169, *186*, stanza 7.
[258] 'Non agros, non vineas copulant agrorum / suorum confinibus, cupidi cunctorum', *Ludus*, 169, *186*, stanza 7.
[259] 'Proprium habere / qui nolunt, et proximo nesciunt nocere', *Ludus*, 168, *186*, stanza 5.
[260] 'De statu orbis reparati, vitiis interemptis' (the state of the world is restored, the vices abolished), *Ludus*, 168, *186*; see Revelation 21:8, 27, 'But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, they shall have their portion in the pool burning with fire and brimstone, which is the second death ... There shall not enter into it any thing defiled, or that worketh abomination or maketh a lie, but they that are written in the book of life of the Lamb'.

presented by the narrative, this new age would have inspired hope and offered encouragement, affording a taste of their heavenly goal.

With its many evocations of the liturgy, Adam's *Ludus* is a profoundly religious work, which is shaped and inspired by the daily, weekly and yearly celebrations of the medieval Church. Produced within and for an ecclesiastical community, the *Ludus* is designed as a spiritual aid for those upon life's journey who desire a greater knowledge of God, of their faith and of themselves. Throughout the work, Adam's allegorical narrative encapsulates spiritual truths regarding the nature of Christ Incarnate, his sacrificial death and his victory over evil, whilst stressing the importance of repentance and rebirth and offering the possibility of forgiveness. Utilising the perceived salvific power inherent in the liturgy, its words, chants, ceremonies and actions, the *Ludus* re-enacts the birth, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, providing its readers with the opportunity to enter into the 'great mystery' of Christ's sacrifice and to renew their salvation. Following in Prudence's footsteps, Adam's readers may embark upon their own voyage, a spiritual quest of the soul to find its Maker, travelling from the earthly realm, through various trials of discovery and knowledge, until they reach the heavenly realms where lies the prospect of an experience of the divine. Along this journey, Adam's many liturgical allusions provide guidance and inspiration, signposting the direction towards faithfulness and virtue. Undertaken as an act of devotion, the *Ludus* and its sacred insertions serve as a map with which to commence upon a journey of the soul, the final destination of which is Adam's promised Golden Age.

Table 5.1
Liturgical Items in the *Ludus* and their Liturgical Contexts

No.	Title	Model	Liturgical Feast(s)	Service at Lille
67a	Ave quæ de Maxentio	Veni Creator Spiritus	**Pentecost** (7th Sunday after Easter)	Vespers and Terce
69a	Ave qui partem	Iste confessor	*Common of a Confessor Saint*	Supplementary (Vespers) [Martin – Nov. 11th; Gregory I – March 12th]
71a	Ave par Angelis	Sanctorum meritis	*Common of two or more Martyrs*	Supplementary (Vespers) [Vincent – Jan. 22nd; Laurence Aug. 10th]
73	Christum Dei Filium	Virga Jesse	*Unknown (Feast Day of St Peter – June 29th)*	–
77a	Ave certum præsagium	A solis ortu cardine	**Nativity** (Dec. 25th)	Vespers and Lauds
81a	Ave qui carens	Æterne Rex altissime	**Ascension** (Thursday following 5th Sunday after Easter)	Vespers and Lauds
83a	Ave cum quo angelica	Beata nobis gaudia	**Pentecost** (7th Sunday after Easter)	Vespers
106	Ad honorem Filii	Letabundus	**Nativity** (Dec. 25th)	Mass and 2nd Vespers
137	O lampas Ecclesiæ	O lampas ecclesie de Sancta Elizabeth	*Feast Day of St Elizabeth – Nov. 17th*	Various
141	Alleluya *V.* Ave domina	Justum deduxit Dominus	Unknown	Mass
143	Zima vetus expurgetur	Zima vetus	**Octave of Easter**	Mass

Key:

Bold text = Feast Days from *Temporale*
Italic text = Feast Days from *Sanctorale*